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The Pronoun of Address in English Literature of the Thirteenth Century

BY
ARTHUR GARFIELD KENNEDY
Instructor in English Philology

STANFORD UNIVERSITY, CALIFORNIA
PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY
1915

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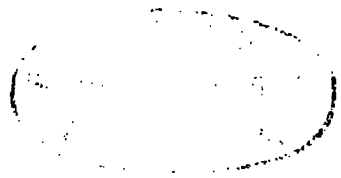

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PREFACE

THE following study in the pronoun of the second person is presented as a contribution to that growing fund of knowledge of Middle English which it is to be hoped will be invested sometime in the near future in a fairly comprehensive Middle English grammar. The literature of the thirteenth century—approximately, for I have exceeded the limits of the century somewhat, both at the beginning and the close—has been carefully read, and findings have been checked by whatever means was available, in order that the material offered in these pages might give as accurate an account as possible of the state of the pronoun during the period to be considered.

I realize that my plan of giving as far as possible the exact number of occurrences of forms and constructions may show more plainly to the observant reader things that I have overlooked. Moreover it may seem at times to lay too much stress upon forms which are probably mere scribal or editorial errors. Nevertheless, the conclusions that can be drawn from definite statements, when those statements are reasonably accurate, as I hope all will be found to be, are so much more satisfactory than mere general statements that I have ventured to give my findings largely in statistical form.

Inasmuch as the problem of the introduction into English of a *pluralis reverentiae,* or *formal singular* pronoun as I shall call it, for this period of the English language, has not been treated extensively before, I have endeavored to present at the same time a fairly complete bibliography, some few articles of which I am sorry to say I have not had access to.

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Prof. Melville Best Anderson for material relating to the pronoun in Dante, and to Prof. O. M. Johnston and Prof. W. H. Carruth, whose studies of the pronoun in Italian and English, respectively, have made their help especially valuable. But most of all I desire to express my sincerest gratitude to Prof. Ewald Flügel, whose time and splendid library have been so freely at my disposal, to whose advice and guidance the present study owes much, and whose untimely death has rendered tardy this acknowledgment of gratitude. His example of scholarly exactness and thoroughness has been a constant inspiration to make this a work worthy of confidence, and if the final execution of it falls short of the ambition, the defects can be charged in a certain measure to the loss of his help and advice.

A. G. K.

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[1] All quotations for Marh. and Jul. are from R unless B is specially designated.

[2] Since MS. L contains only the *Ureisun of Ure Lauerd* and shows no special variations of pronouns it is not quoted.

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[8] Statistics for the Ancren R. are based upon the text of the MS. Cott. Nero A XIV as edited by Morton, with Kölbing's collation. The collations by Prof. Macaulay in Mod. Lang. Rev. of 1914 have been examined, but came too late to be incorporated in the body of this work.

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31. Proclamation of Henry III ed. Emerson in Middle Engl. Reader, pp. 226-7. 1909. Quoted by page and line.

32. Assumpcioun de Notre Dame ed. Lumby-McKnight. E. E. T. S. Vol. 14. 1866-1891. Quoted by line.
Also—Gierth, Franz: Über die älteste mittelenglische Version der Assumptio Mariae. Engl. Stud. VII, 1-33. 1884.
Date, ca. 1250-1300. Dialect, Southern. MS., Cambr. Gg. 4 . 27 . 2.[5]

33. Three Hymns to the Virgin and God ed. Morris in appendix to O. E. Hom. Ser. 2, pp. 255-271. Quoted by piece and line.

34. The Prisoner's Prayer ed. Ellis in Early English Pronunciation, Pt. II, pp. 428-439. E. E. T. S. Vol. VII. 1869. Quoted by line.

35. Minor Poems of Digby 86, acc. to Stengel's arrangement:
(33) Les XV singnes de domesday.
(35) Le diz de seint Bernard.
(36) Ubi sount qui ante nos fuerount.
(37) Chauncoun de noustre dame.
(38) Þe sawe of seint bede prest.
(40) Les ounsse peines de enfer.
(49) Chauncun del secle.
(52) Les nouns de vn leure en engleis.
(62) La manere quel amour est pur assaier.
(75) In manus tuas.
I. Nos. 33 and 49-75 ed. (in part only) by Stengel, E.: Codicem Manu Scriptum Digby 86 etc. 1871.
II. Nos. 35-38 ed. Furnivall in E. E. T. S. Vol. 117. 1901.
III. No. 40 ed. Horstmann, Herrigs Archiv LXII, 403-6. 1879. Quoted by piece and line.
Date, ca. 1275-90. Dialect, Southern. MS., Digby 86.

36. Dame Siriz ed. Zupitza in Übungsbuch, pp. 131-8. 7th ed., 1904. Quoted by line.
Also—Kölbing's collation, Engl. Stud. V, 378-9.
Date, Probably bef. 1272. Dialect, Southeastern. MS., Digby 86.

37. Life of St. Eustace ed. Horstmann in Altengl. Leg. N. F., pp. 211-219. 1882. Quoted by line.
Date, ca. 1275-90. Dialect, Southern. MS., Digby 86.

[5] The other MSS. are too late to be of use here.

38. Psalter of Our Lady ed. Horstmann in Altengl. Leg. N. F., pp. 220-4. 1882. Quoted by line.
Date, ca. 1275-90. Dialect, Southern. MSS., Digby 86 and Auchinleck MS.[6]

39. Thrush and Nightingale ed. Hazlitt in Early Popular Poetry of England I, 50-57. 1864. Quoted by line.
Date, ca. 1275-90. Dialect, Southern. MSS., Digby 86 and Auchinleck MS.[7]

40. Vox and Wolf ed. Maetzner in Sprachproben I, 1, 130-6. 1869. Quoted by line.
Date, ca. 1275-90. Dialect, Southern. MS., Digby 86.

41. Maximian. D version ed. Varnhagen, Anglia III, 275-285. 1880. H version ed. Böddeker in Altengl. Dichtungen des MS. Harl. 2253. 1878. Quoted by line.
Date, 1275 or earlier. Dialect, Southern. MSS., Digby 86 (D) and Harl. 2253 (H).

42. Debate between Body and Soul (Version I). MS. D ed. Stengel in Cod. Manu Script. Digby 86, pp. 93-101. Quoted by stanza and verse. MS. H ed. Böddeker in Altengl. Dicht., pp. 233-43. Quoted by line.
Also—Linow, W.: The disputisoun bitwen the bodi and the soule. Erlanger Beiträge I. 1889.
Date, 1275 or earlier. Dialect, Southern. MSS., Digby 86 (D) and Harl. 2253 (H).[8]

43. Proverbs of Hending. Versions D and C ed. Varnhagen, Anglia IV, 180-200. 1881. Version H ed. Böddeker in Altengl. Dicht., pp. 287-300. Quoted by stanza and verse from D and C, by line from H.
Date, Not later than 1275. Dialect, Southern with Midland peculiarities. MSS., Digby 86 (D) ca. 1275-90, Cambr. Gg. 1, i (C) ca. 1307 and Harl. 2253 (H) ca. 1310.

44. Harrowing of Hell ed. Hulme. E. E. T. S. Vol. C. 1907. Quoted by line.
Date, 1250 or earlier. Dialect, Southern in D and H. MSS., Digby 86 (D), Harl. 2253 (H) and Auchinleck (A).[9]

45. Vier Geistliche Gedichte ed. Jacoby. 1890. Quoted by piece and line.
Date, 1250-1300. Dialect, Southern. MS., Arundel 248.

[6] The Auchinleck MS. has not been utilized.

[7] Only Digby 86 has been used.

[8] While the two copies differ widely in the number of verses and reading in general the pronouns are alike with a few exceptions which will be specially noted. Hence quotations are from D, the better because fuller, copy.

[9] MS. A has not been used.

46. Surtees Psalter ed. Stevenson for Surtees Soc. 2 vols. 1843 and 1847.[10] Quoted by psalm and verse.
Also—Collation by Wende in: Überlieferung und Sprache der mittelenglischen Version des Psalters etc. Breslau diss. 1884.
Date, 1250-1300. Dialect, Northern. MSS., Cott. Vespasian D vii (C),[11] Egerton 614 (E), Harl. 1770 (A), Bodleian 927 (O 1), Bodleian 425 (O 2) and Corp. Christi Coll. Cambr. 278 (K).

47. Religious Poems of MS. Digby 2 ed. Furnivall in E. E. T. S. Vol. 117, pp. 753-7. 1901. Quoted by piece and line.
Date, 1250-1300. MS., Digby 2.

48. Judas, A Ballad ed. Child in Engl. and Scot. Pop. Ballads, Vol. 10, p. 288. 1898. Quoted by line.
Date, 13th century. Dialect, Southern. MS., B. 14 . 39 of Trin. Coll. Cambr.

49. The V Gaudia ed. Maetzner in Sprachproben, I, 1, 51-53. Quoted by line.
Date, 13th century. Dialect, Southern. MS., B. 14 . 39 of Trin. Coll. Cambr.

50. Northern Legends, Collection I, ed. Horstmann in Altengl. Leg. N. F. as follows: Peter and Paul, pp. 77-81; Alexius, pp. 174-188. Quoted by piece and line.
Date, ca. 1275-1300. Dialect, Northern. MS., only Ashmole 42 is used in this study.

51. Northern Legends, Collection II, ed. Horstmann as follows: Nos. 1-34 in Altengl. Leg. N. F., pp. 1-173, 1882; No. 35 in Altengl. Leg., pp. 226-240, 1875. Quoted by piece and line.
Also—Retzlaff: Untersuchungen über den nordenglischen Legendencyclus der MSS. Harl. 4196 und Cott. Tib. E vii. Berlin diss. 1888.
Date, ca. 1275-1300. Dialect, Northern. Only MS. Harl. 4196 has been used.[12]

52. Early South English Legendary ed. Horstmann as follows: No. 8 Leben Jesu, ein Fragment, 1873; No. 9 Kindheit Jesu, in Altengl. Leg. 1875, pp. 1-61; Nos. 10-67. E. E. T. S. Vol. 87. 1887. Quoted by piece and line.
Also—*a.* Mohr, Fr.: Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu den mittelenglischen Legenden aus Gloucestershire. Bonn diss. 1889.
b. Schmidt, W.: Über den Stil der Legenden des MS. Laud 108. Eine Untersuchung zur Ermittelung der Heimat und Verfasser derselben. Halle diss. 1893.
Date, ca. 1280-90. Dialect, Southern. MS., Laud 108.

[10] I have been so fortunate as to have at my disposal Dr. Flügel's copy of the Surtees Society edition in which Dr. Horstmann has carefully made many corrections, evidently while preparing his own edition of the Psalter.

[11] Only MS. C has been made use of.

[12] The work of the second scribe begins with Legend 19, l. 170.

53. Debate between Body and Soul, Version II, ed. Linow. 1889. Quoted by line.
Also—Heesch, G.: Über Sprache und Versbau des halbsächsischen Gedichts: "Debate of the Body and the Soul." Kiel diss. 1884.
Date, 1250-1300. Dialect, East Midland with West Midland and Southern forms (Linow). MS., Laud 108 only has been used.

54. King Horn ed. McKnight. E. E. T. S. Vol. 14. 1901. Quoted by line.
Also—Wissmann, Th.: King Horn: Untersuchungen zur M. E. Sprache und Literaturgeschichte. Quellen u. Forsch. XVI. 1876.
Date, ca. 1250-1300. Dialect, Southern, perhaps of Essex. MSS., Cambr. Gg. 4 . 27 . 2 (C), Laud 108 (L) and Harl. 2253 (H).

55. Havelok the Dane ed. Skeat. Oxford, 1902. Quoted by line.
Also—*a*. Ludorff, F.: Über die Sprache des altengl. Lay *Havelok þe Dane*. 1873.
b. Hohman, L.: Über Sprache und Stil des altenglischen Lai Havelok þe Dane. Marburg diss. 1886.
Date, ca. 1290 or earlier. Dialect, East Midland. MS., Laud 108.

56. Cursor Mundi ed. Morris. E. E. T. S. Vols. 57, 59, 62, 66, 68, 99, 101. 1874-1893. Quoted by line.
Also—Hörning, W.: Die Schreibung der Hs. E. des Cursor Mundi. Berlin diss. 1906.
Date, 1254-1290 (Hupe). Dialect, Northern. MSS. used, Cott. Vespasian A iii (C) and Edinburgh MS. (E) which contains only ll. 18989-24968.

57. Scoffing Verses quoted in the Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft ed. Wright in appendix to: Political Songs, Publ. of Camden Soc. Vol. 17, pp. 273-323. 1839. No material found.

58. Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester ed. Wright for Rolls Series. 2 vols. 1887. Quoted by line.
Also—*a*. Pabst, Felix: Die Sprache der mittelengl. Reimchronik des Robert von Gloucester. I. Lautlehre. Berlin diss. 1899.
b. ——— Flexion bei Robert von Gloucester. Anglia XIII, 202-301. 1891.
Date, ca. 1298-1300. Dialect, Southwestern. MS. used, Cott. Caligula A xi, ca. 1320-30.

59. Song of Joseph ed. Heuser in Bonner Beiträge XVII, pp. 83-121. 1905. Quoted by line.
Date, 13th century. Dialect, Southern. MS., Bodleian 652.

60. Kildare Poems ed. Heuser in Bonner Beiträge XIV. 1904. Quoted by piece and line.
Date, ca. 1308-18. Dialect, Anglo-Irish, largely of Southern English origin. MS., Harl. 913.

61. Lyrical Poems of Harl. 2253 ed. Böddeker. 1878. Quoted by group, piece and line. P = Political Poems, W = Worldly, G = Religious.
    Also—Schlüter, A.: Über die Sprache und Metrik der mittelenglischen weltlichen und geistlichen lyrischen Lieder des MS. Harl. 2253. Breslau diss. 1884.
    Date, Probably composed at various times near the end of the 13th century. Dialect, Written in various dialects and finally put into the Southwestern dialect. MS., Harl. 2253 ca. 1310.
62. Legend of Marina ed. Böddeker in Altengl. Dicht., pp. 254-263. Quoted by line.
    Date, ca. 1310. Dialect, Southern. MS., Harl. 2253.
63. Metrical Dream-Book ed. Förster in Herrigs Archiv CXXVII, 31-48. 1911. Quoted by line.
    Date, Bef. 1300. Dialect, Southwestern. MS., Harl. 2253.

C. ABBREVIATIONS.

		NO.
Ancren R.	Ancren Riwle	15
Ass.	Assumpcioun de Notre Dame	32
B. & S. I	Debate of Body and Soul, Version I	42
B. & S. II	Debate of Body and Soul, Version II	53
Best.	Bestiary	27
B. Rule	Benedictine Rule	1
Comp. Mar.	Compassio Mariae	30
Curs. M.	Cursor Mundi	56
Digby 86	Minor Poems of Digby 86	35
Digby Psalter	The Psalter of Our Lady	38
Dream-Book	Metrical Dream-Book	63
Eg. Hymns	Hymns of the Virgin and Christ	21
Eust.	Life of St. Eustace	37
Exp. Pat. Nos.	Exposition of the Pater Noster	3
V Gaudia	The V Gaudia	49
Fl. & Bl.	Floris and Blauncheflur	29
Gen. & Ex.	Genesis and Exodus	22
G. G.	Vier M. E. Geistliche Gedichte	45
Hali M.	Hali Meidenhad	13
Harl. 2253	Lyrical Poems of Harl. 2253	61
Hav.	Havelok the Dane	55
H. H.	Harrowing of Hell	44
Horn	King Horn	54
Hymns of CCCO.	Three Hymns to the Virgin and God	33
Jos.	Song of Joseph	59
Judas	Judas, A Ballad	48
Jul.	Liflade of St. Juliana	10
Kath.	Alliterative Life of St. Katherine	8
Kent. Serm.	Old Kentish Sermons	28
Kil. Poems	Kildare Poems	60
Laȝ. A or B	Laȝamon's Brut	19
Lamb. Hom.	Old English Homilies, Series I	4
Marh.	Alliterative Life of St. Marharete	9
Marina	Legend of Marina	62
Max.	Maximian	41
Meidan M.	Meidan Maregrete	16
Metr. Credo	Metrical Credo-Pater Noster Group	17
Nor. Leg. I	Northern Legends, Collection I	50
Nor. Leg. II	Northern Legends, Collection II	51
O. & N.	Owl and Nightingale	24
Orm.	Ormulum	6
P. Mor.	Poema Morale	2

P. P.	Prisoner's Prayer	34
Prayers & Hymns	Four Prayers and Hymns and the Lesse Crede	11
Proc.	Proclamation of Henry III	31
Prose Credo	Prose Credo	18
Prov. of A.	Proverbs of Alfred	23
Prov. of Hend.	Proverbs of Hending	43
Psalter	Surtees Psalter	46
R. Glouc.	Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester	58
R. Poems of Digby 2	Religious Poems of MS. Digby 2	47
R. Poems of C & J	Relig. Poems of Cotton and Jesus Coll. MSS.	20
R. Poems of J	Religious Poems of Jesus Coll. MS.	26
Siriz	Dame Siriz	36
So. Leg.	Early South English Legendary	52
S. Warde	Sawles Warde	12
Thrush	Thrush and Nightingale	39
Trin. Hom.	Old English Homilies, Series 2	5
V. & V.	Vices and Virtues	7
Vox	Vox and Wolf	40
Woh.	Wohunge of Ure Lauerd	14

THE PRONOUN OF ADDRESS IN ENGLISH LITERATURE OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

SECTION I. INTRODUCTION.

The period of transition in the history of the English language extending from about the beginning of the twelfth century to the early part of the fourteenth witnessed some interesting changes in the form, use and meaning of the pronoun of address commonly termed the pronoun of the second person. The nom. sing. and nom. plur. acquired the forms familiar today, the gen-poss. sing. short form won a place for itself, the dual disappeared early in the period, and the oblique cases of the plur. took on the initial *y* after two or three preliminary stages of spelling had been passed thru. The older genitive constructions gave way largely to prepositional phrases, *-e*-forms were gradually used with a total disregard of propriety, various intensive-reflexive combinations were tried and cast aside, and there was even a slight tendency to substitute a dat-acc. form for the nom. But most interesting of all, because it concerns not only the grammatical but the social history of the period, was the introduction of what may be termed, for the Middle English period at least, the formal singular, *i. e.*, the plur. form applied to an individual to show respect or reverence.

Inasmuch as the present study aims at a descriptive rather than a historical treatment of the subject, and since in the semasiological part of the field, at least, little material has been gathered as yet for a historical study, only a general outline of the morphology, syntax and semasiology of the pronoun of address as found on English soil before approximately 1200 A. D. must suffice here.

In general, the forms, for the second person, were as follows in West Saxon:

Sing.	*Dual*	*Plur.*
Nom. ðu	Nom. git	Nom. ge
Gen. ðin	Gen. incer	Gen. eower, iower
Dat. ðe	Dat. inc	Dat. eow, iow
Acc. ðe (ðec)	Acc. inc (incit)	Acc. eow, iow (eowic)[18]

[18] Sievers-Cook, Old Engl. Gram., p. 243.

Of course the variant form þ was common in some O. E. monuments, and the *g* (as used in Sievers-Cook's Gram.) was written in such a MS. as that of the Beowulf *ȝ* (cf. *ȝe* l. 237 et olim); hence these variations in spelling cannot be taken as of weight in the earlier time—nor in the thirteenth century, for that matter, altho the *g/ȝ* variation presumably signifies more than it did in the O. E. MSS. The vowel or diphthong variants for the plur. forms especially are numerous in the O. E. dialects and would doubtless throw light upon some of the forms found in the thirteenth century.

Syntactically the older pronoun was simpler, because it had more inflectional forms to depend upon than in the later period. The gen. and the poss. adj. are to be regarded as distinct; the simple dat. or acc. was used reflexively, since no independent reflexive pronoun existed; and emphasis was gained by attaching the pronoun-adjective *self* to the proper case of the simple pronoun, altho, even in the O. E., signs of a new intensive compound occur. (Cf. Beowulf 594 swa *þu self* talast, but 953 þu *þe self* hafast dædum gefremed[14]).

In its semasiological aspects, the O. E. pronoun of address was quite free from any ambiguity such as we find occurring after the English began to use the *pluralis reverentiae* in their social intercourse. As far as I have been able to discover, the O. E. vernacular literature shows no instances of such usage, and likewise the earliest M. E. down to a time when the dominant literary influence in England was Latin or French, certainly not Scandinavian. Hence it would seem probable that the practice of addressing a superior with a plural pronoun was borrowed from either the Latin or the French.

In the Latin the practice had been more or less common since about the fifth century A. D. Ehrismann places the beginnings for the Latin first person—the plur. *nos* applied by the emperor to himself—in the time of Sardianus III (a. 238-244), and for the second person in the second half of the fourth century.[15] As would be expected, and as we shall find true of English usage in the thirteenth century, many instances which have been cited as examples of an early Latin *pluralis reverentiae* are ambiguous and can easily be explained as *plurales societatis,* the speaker regarding himself or being regarded as the representative of a political body or religious organization, hence only one of several.[16] Gradually,

[14] The confusion due to the position of *self* near *þe* instead of *þu* might easily lead to the retention of *þe* in other sentences where it was not needed.

[15] Ehrismann, Dutzen und Ihrzen im Mittelalter.

[16] The tradition that Caesar was first addressed with the *pluralis reverentiae*

however, the practice of addressing temporal rulers and church dignitaries with this special mark of respect became so general as to be regarded as almost obligatory. Ehrismann finds many examples of this formal address, as well as of the formal use of the first person, in the Variae of Cassiodorus, in proclamations of early Frankish kings, in the Burgundian and Lombard laws, and elsewhere in mediaeval Latinity. So it is not surprising that it is found rather early in the German and French vernacular literature.

Jacob Grimm,[17] and others following his lead, have been wont to date the beginning of the practice, for the German, at about Otfrid's time. Ehrismann finds in both the *Waltharius* and the *Ruodlieb* use of the informal and the formal singular corresponding to the general practice of the times, presumably. It is evident that German monastic life knew it at an early date. Eckstein says, "In den altdeutschen Gesprächen aus dem 10n Jahrhundert wechselt das vornehme Ihr mit dem verächtlichen Du." [18]

In the French, as Ganter [19] has shown, the use of the formal sing. had become so common by the time Chrêtien de Troyes wrote that not only were superiors but even equals addressed thus formally. Indeed in Chrêtien's romances, written late in the twelfth century, the informal sing. *tu* expresses usually condescension or contempt on the part of the speaker, except in the case of parent to child, apostrophe and address to God. Lancelot uses it in addressing his dwarf (v. 5090 [20]), and in speaking to Fortune, who has misused him (v. 6488 ff.); Kay mixes in a few contemptuous *tu*'s in addressing Lancelot (v. 4028, etc.); Lancelot also addresses thus informally a conquered knight (v. 2767), and is himself thus spoken to by a strange maiden (v. 2804 ff.). In Floire et Blancheflor the pronouns are used in much the same manner; so also in Aucassin et Nicolete. Nicolete even uses the formal sing. in addressing her absent lover (cf. v. 5, v. 19, etc.[21]).

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has, according to Mommsen, no foundation (Mommsen, Inschrift von Hissarlik, Hermes XVII, p. 544); and Cicero's use of a plur. in speaking of himself shows, according to Conway (Use of the Singular *Nos* in Cicero's Letters), a feeling rather of hostility or estrangement toward Cicero's correspondents.

[17] J. Grimm, Deutsche Grammatik, Pt. IV, p. 359.

[18] Eckstein, Zur Geschichte der Anrede im Deutschen durch die Fürwörter, p. 472.

[19] Ganter, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Anrede im Altfranzösischen.

[20] Chrêtien de Troyes' Lancelot ed. Foerster in Sämtliche Werke, vol. IV. Halle, 1899.

[21] Aucassin et Nicolete ed. Suchier 4th ed. Paderborn, 1899.

A lack of collected material relating to the use of the formal sing. in Latin and French (particularly Norman) literature written on English soil makes it impossible to do more than glance at the problem of the immediate influences working upon the English vernacular. Monastic life was undoubtedly closely akin to that on the continent, so that one would expect any practice familiar abroad to be also in vogue in English monasteries and in English Latinity. However the entire chronicle of Geoffrey of Monmouth, written toward the middle of the twelfth century, contains only two or three examples of the *pluralis reverentiae*. Once Hoel, in addressing King Arthur, uses a plur. form (Bk. IX, Chap. XVII, 1-4[22]), but immediately afterward lapses into the sing., and once Gorlois uses a plur. form in addressing King Uther (Bk. VIII, Chap. XVIII, 25); the latter example, however, is questionable.

The Anglo-Norman Wace, using Geoffrey's material a few years later (ca. 1155), also adheres generally to the use of the informal sing., and this is important when Wace's influence upon Lazamon is taken into consideration. While, for example, the children, in such French romances as Chrêtien's Lancelot and Floire et Blancheflor, address their parents with *vos* (cf. Meleaganz to his father, Lancel. 4868, or Floire to his mother, Floire et Blanch. 875), in Wace's Brut Leir's daughters address the king with the informal *tu* in spite of their desire to flatter him.

On the other hand, in the *Lais* of Marie de France, written only a few years after Wace's Brut but in the different atmosphere of the English court, the formal sing. predominates, altho its use is by no means regular or perfectly consistent (cf. wife to Bisclavret, *Di* mei . . . u sunt *voz* dras, Bisclavret 71[23]; princess to chamberlain, El. 377; Launfal's beloved to King Arthur, Lan. 637; etc.).

It is evident from the few pieces just considered that in Anglo-French literature of the twelfth century of a more or less romantic nature, such as the *Lais* of Marie de France, the formal sing. was regarded as a sign of good breeding. It is also equally manifest that in both Latin and French historical literature, produced on English soil, the formal sing. could be largely ignored. Whether the formal sing. was deemed a feature of romantic narration and an attribute of court life, exclusively, in England at this time, could only be determined by a much more

[22] Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae ed. San Marte (A. Schulz), Halle, 1854.

[23] Lais of Marie de France, ed. Warnke in Bibliothek Normannica, Vol. III, 2d ed., 1900.

thoro search thru the Latin and Anglo-Norman literature of twelfth-century England. It is hardly likely that the monks and clergy—for most extant English literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries appears to have emanated from that class—could have failed to come in contact with the use of the formal sing. both in Latin and in French. Therefore it remains to be seen just when this practice began to enter into the English vernacular, and when all the evidence has been gathered, to endeavor to decide thru what channels and by what influence it came.

SECTION II. MORPHOLOGY.

Inasmuch as the pronoun of address shows a great number of variant forms for this period—the gen-poss. plur., for example, has over seventy forms, in all, counting variations in spelling and some forms which are probably errors—it will be advisable to consider under each case three groups, arranged according to their importance, as (*a*) common forms, (*b*) forms less common, and (*c*) miscellaneous forms due probably to scribal, editorial or typographical carelessness.[24] For the sake of convenience and because the O. E. distinctions have largely disappeared, the term genitive-possessive can be made to include both the O. E. gen. case and the pronominal adjective; and dative-accusative is quite sufficient, since no distinction of form existed, for the most part, even in late West Saxon. A new, distinct form, however, must be recognized, namely the so-called compound or intensive-reflexive form.

I. NOMINATIVE SINGULAR.

A. Common forms. 1. The most common form until about the middle of the century is *þu*. It predominates in 28 monuments and collections, notably B. Rule, Exp. Pat. Nos., Lamb. Hom., Trin. Hom., Kath., Marh., Jul., Prayers & Hymns, S. Warde, Hali M., Woh., Ancren R., Laȝ. A, R. Poems of C & J, Eg. Hymns, Prov. of A., O. & N., R. Poems of J, Kent. Serm., Fl. & Bl., Ass., G. G., Horn MS. C, Curs. M. MS. E, etc. In at least 13 others it occurs, particularly in Orm. (208x), V. & V. (57x), Laȝ. B (3x), South. Leg., Hav. (36x), Curs. M., Jos., etc. While it appears less frequently toward the end of the century.it did not give way to the *þou* spelling until after 1300 A. D.

2. The spelling *ðu* is the regular one for V. & V. (340x), Metr. Credo, Gen. & Ex. and Best. It also occurs in B. Rule (once), Exp. Pat. Nos. (once), and Prayers & Hymns (6x). On the whole it is not a popular spelling because ð was not used as much initially as þ was.

3. The form *þou* occurs a few times in Laȝ. A (6x), Eg. Hymns

[24] While I realize that more careful editing, in the future, of certain monuments may make this third class largely obsolete, yet it seems best to print all the forms just as I have found them, trusting that they will not be taken too seriously by anyone.

(3x), Comp. Mar. (once) and Ass., that is to say, as early as 1225, but it does not predominate until about the time Laȝ. B was written and the pieces of Digby 86, about 1275, or perhaps a little earlier. After that it predominates in 26 monuments, the most important of which are Digby 86, Siriz, Thrush, Vox, B. & S. I, H. H., Psalter, Nor. Leg. I, Nor. Leg. II, So. Leg., Horn, Hav., Curs. M. (1632x), R. Glouc., Kil. Poems and Harl. 2253. The fact that it occurs in only two later pieces where it does not predominate, i. e., B. & S. II (16x) and Curs. M. MS. E (33x) shows how completely it did crowd out the earlier forms when it was adopted.

4. Forms showing assimilation of the initial spirant to a preceding *-t* or *-d* (e. g. Ancren R. 54, 20 wenest *tu*; O. & N. 218 *dostu*) occur frequently thruout the century and in all dialects, altho a very noticeable falling-off in the use of assimilated forms is to be noted in the latter part of the century. In Orm. *tu* occurs 429x, and *þu* follows *-d* or *-t* only 3x in a total of 208x, and in those 3 instances an intervening pause, caesural or otherwise, breaks the assimilating force of the preceding dental. In other important monuments of the period, all of which have a rather large number of forms with assimilation, the numbers of occurrences of *þu* or *ðu* immediately following dental explosives as compared with the total number of *þu* or *ðu* forms are as follows: V. & V. 42x in 340x, Kath. none in 71x, Prayers & Hymns, 16x in 84x, Hali M. once in 62x, Woh. 3x in 84x, Ancren R. 9x in 198x, Laȝ. A 176x in 651x, R. Poems of C & J 6x in 44x, R. Poems of J 22x in 115x, Fl. & Bl. 7x in 44x, Digby 86 ca. 8x in 80x, Psalter 143x in 475x, So. Leg. at least 400x in 1233x, Curs. M. at least 380x in 1632x, Harl. 2253 ca. 43x in 209x.

In general it is true that the form with assimilation, but not contracted with the preceding word, is more common in the earlier monuments, and the contracted form in the later ones. This doubtless is to be associated with the fact that earlier in the century forms with assimilation occur after *annd*,[25] *þat*, in fact, any word ending in *-d* or *-t*, whereas later the practice is usually confined to a pronoun after a verb in the 2nd pers. Among assimilated forms non-contracted forms prevail as follows: *tu* in Orm., V. & V., Kath., Marh., Jul., Prayers & Hymns, S. Warde, Hali M., Ancren R., Laȝ. A (3x), Best., Curs. M. (33x), Curs. M. MS. E (32x), etc.; *tou* predominates in Meidan M. only, tho it occurs also a less number of times in Psalter (31x), V Gaudia, Nor. Leg. II, B. & S. II, Curs. M. MS. E., R. Glouc. (once), etc. Of the contracted forms *-tu* is preferred in R. Poems of C & J (8x), Gen. & Ex.,

[25] In all quotations from the Orm. I shall print the word *annd* contrary to the practice of Holt, who prints only the sign used in the MS.

O. & N., R. Poems of J, Fl. & Bl., Ass. and Hav., occurring less often in Kath., Marh., Prayers & Hymns, Ancren R., Siriz (once), etc., while the later form *-tou* prevails in Psalter (58x), Nor. Leg. II, So. Leg. (4x), R. Glouc. (10x), Jos. (2x) and Kil. Poems (10x), and occurs occasionally in Meidan M. (8x), Digby 86 (once), Eust., Hav. (once), etc.

The question of whether actual contraction, in the sense that the bringing together of two words has crowded out a letter, really occurs, or whether it is merely a case of juxtaposition of verb and pronoun, cannot be settled in a general way but must be taken up for each monument separately because the answer depends upon what form the verb takes. If the verb of the 2nd sing. ends without exception in *-st* or *-t*, as in Lamb. Hom. or Trin. Hom., then a contraction would imply either that one dental has been lost or else that such contracted forms have been retained from a very early time when the *-es* conjugation was common; if, on the other hand, verbs in *-es* occur, as in Hali M., Ancren R., Gen. & Ex., Nor. Leg. I or Hav., then mere juxtaposition may have occurred. The fact that the form with assimilation, after about 1250 A. D., occurs almost altogether in contraction with verbs, and chiefly auxiliaries and the copula, as in *shaltou* (Hav. 1800), *artou* (So. Leg. 37, 267), *hauestu* (Horn 774), *wiltu* (Hav. 681), *has tu* (Curs. M. 20265), etc., makes it seem probable that such combinations are more or less fixed in the dialect and the assimilation is not the living process that it was earlier with Orm and the writers of the alliterative homilies and saints' lives. Indeed an examination of the assimilated forms in G. G., Psalter, Nor. Leg. I, Nor. Leg. II, So. Leg., B. & S. II, Horn and Hav. proves this quite conclusively.

The so-called assimilation after *-s* is not of much importance as far as the pronoun of address is concerned. In Hali M., Woh., and, as isolated occurrences, in the Psalter and Curs. M. the word causing assimilation is *as* or some part of speech other than a verb (e. g. Hali M. 25, 12 as *tu* turnest þin hond; Woh. 279, 10 as *tu* was; Psalter 20, 4 als *tou* es; Curs. M. 20657 It sal be al als *tu* it wille). In the Psalter and Curs. M. the verb and pronoun sometimes stand apart, making it appear that assimilation has followed a verb form in *-es*; it is quite likely in such cases that the scribe has merely separated a contraction from which a *t* has been lost after assimilation had taken place. The same appears to be true in the case of forms showing assimilation after *l* and *r*, not common, indeed, and confined largely to the same monuments, namely Psalter (e. g. 9, 35 sal *tou*; 58, 17 ere *tou*; 118, 31 nil *tou*) and Curs. M. (e. g. 20615 sal *tu*; 24194 er *tu*).

B. Forms less common. A few of the less frequent forms are characteristic of certain monuments only, others are variants occurring infrequently in various monuments, while still others might easily be relegated to the class of doubtful forms.

1. In the first group of special forms belongs *þouȝ*, the regular form in B. & S. II, and occurring also in So. Leg. 2x (26, 33; 39, 255).

2. A variant spelling of *þou*, namely *þov*, occurs in So. Leg. (370x). Another form, *þow*, is to be found less frequently in Nor. Leg. I and II, B. & S. II, Hav. (once viz. 845), Curs. M. (19x), Curs. M. MS. E and Kil. Poems (once). *þv* occurs in Laȝ. A (once), R. Poems of J (3x), and *þw* in R. Poems of Digby 2 (once viz. 1, 29) and in Hav. (once viz. 1316). Gen. & Ex. has *ðhu* (3x) and *thouȝ* occurs in B. & S. II (5x). The modern form *thou*[26] barely appears late in the century in Laȝ. B (once viz. 24811), Psalter (3x), B. & S. II (once viz. 403), Hav. (2x viz. 560; 846), Harl. 2253 (once). Once, only, *thu* occurs, in P. P. (l. 8).

3. Several variants corresponding to the above, but with assimilated dental, occur scatteringly. B. & S. II has *touȝ* (once viz. l. 200) and *-touȝ* in contraction (4x). *Tow* occurs in Nor. Leg. I (once) and Nor. Leg. II (2x), *-tow* in Nor. Leg. II (7x), Hav. (once), R. Glouc. (3x), Kil. Poems (once), *-towe* in Nor. Leg. I (once viz. 1, 41), *-tov* in So. Leg. (4x) and Kil. Poems (2x), *-tw* in Nor. Leg. II (once viz. 7, 113).

4. In a few instances the pronoun has been contracted with a following word beginning with a vowel. In Fl. & Bl. (l. 335) the word *þert* is to be considered a contraction of *þu ert*, and similarly, in Harl. 2253 (W. L. 13, 38) *þart* = *þu art*. In Orm. the contraction *þut*[27] (= *þu it*) occurs 6x (2984 *ȝiff þut* lufesst ohht; 6192 *ȝiff þut* wast; 16383, etc.), and a form with initial *t*, i. e. *tut*,[27] 4x (4949 *ȝiff þatt tut* follȝhesst; 12236; 12242; 14123). Once in P. Mor. MS. E the contraction *þus* (= *þu hes*) occurs (l. 130 *þanne þus* ne miht do no more), and once in R. Glouc. a double contraction takes place (l. 4917 Sir bissop wu ne *ȝifstus* [= *ȝifst þu us*] of þine wite brede).

5. Forms which cannot be explained as merely variant spellings of more usual ones but which seem to represent careless pronunciation or colloquial tendencies are *þo and þe*. The former occurs in Laȝ. B (once viz. 14560), H. H. Digby MS. (once viz. 199), Nor. Leg. II (4x viz. 2, 59; 26, 185; 26, 192; 28, 117), So. Leg. (3x viz. 9, 1580; 19, 42; 27,

[26] While Hazlitt prints *þ* as *th* in Thrush, and Maetzner in Vox and V Gaudia, I have assumed that *þ* is always the correct letter, since all other pieces published from the same MSS. show *þ*.

[27] In Orm's MS. the vowel of this contraction is marked with a double accent.

1990), Horn MS. L (3x viz. 392, 566, 917) and Hav. (3x viz. 388; 1229; 1274) while the latter is printed *þe* in La3. B (once viz. 21432 Li nu þar Colgrym *þe* were iclemde to heȝe = A *þu* were iclumben), in Nor. Leg. II (once viz. 35, 995 yf *þe* will þe gyf þar to, I sall it luf ay whis I lyf), in Horn MS. L (once viz. 757 Sone bote *þe* flecte = MS. C. Wel sone bute *þu* flitte), and in Kil. Poems (once viz. 2c, 63 *þe* worþ as witti . . . As god him self [28]), and *ðe* in V. & V. (once viz. 77, 12-13, 3if ðu ȝifst ðo manne ðe gaf ðe, oðer *ðe* wost ðat wile ȝiuen ðe, whilch lean aust ðu te hauen of godd [29]). All the examples of *þe* or *ðe*, however, are more or less questionable and may easily be mere scribal errors. The occurrence of the *-e*-form as an enclitic *-te* seems less questionable, in Trin. Hom. (once viz. 95, 33 haue reaðe of þin ogen sovle . þenne *likeste* gode), in La3. B (once viz. 5195 ne *sehte* [30] leofne broþer = A. ne isihst *þu* leoue broder), in Fl. & Bl. (once viz. 519-20 A litel er þu noldest hit se, Nu ne *miȝte* hit lete fram þe), in Judas (2x viz. 19 *wolte* sulle þi louerd; 22 *wolte*), in So. Leg. (3x viz. 15, 365 ȝwi *fondeste* . . . To be-nime us; 38b, 10 3wi *siweste* me so faste; 67, 18 Ypolyt, hou gez þis: *turneste* to þe wauȝh [31]), in Hav. (3x viz. 528 *wilte* don mi wille al; 578; 1135), and in R. Glouc. (2x viz. 3150 wat *waste* . . . ȝiue; 10791 Wat *seiste*). The form *-þe* is less certain because of confusion with the adverb *nouþe* in La3. B (5058 and *nouþe* hart icomen aȝeo = A. nu *þu* ært sel icumen).

C. Miscellaneous forms. The form *gu*, which occurs in Gen. & Ex. 3x, is considered by the editor, Dr. Morris, and surely with justification, to be merely a scribal error for *ðu* (359 and 365-6. Louerd, quat same is me bi-tid, for ic am naked and have me hid. Quo seide ðe dat *gu* wer naked; ðu haues ðe sorges sigðhe waked; . . . In swinc ðu salt tilen ði mete [n], ðin bred wid swotes teren eten, Til *gu* beas eft in to erðe cumen, Quer-of *gu* beas to manne numen). Once *du* is printed in V. & V. (89, 4 [32]), *þa* occurs in B. Rule (once viz. 37, 14 [33]), *þeo* in La3. A (4x viz. 2963 swiðe dure *þeo* eart me; 2975; 3047 *þeo* art me leof; 8911 þe wurs *þeo* [34] scælt iwurðen = B. þou salt dō worse), *þeou* in La3. A (once viz. 2978), *þeu* in La3. A (once viz. 3342), and *þon*, plainly an

[28] Maetzner changes *þe* to *þou* (Sprachproben I, 1, 126).

[29] Perhaps *ðe* is rather a relative pronoun here.

[30] Madden suggests *sehste*.

[31] In the last example *-te* may be construed as reflexive obj. of the verb if a subject be supplied.

[32] Is Prof. Curme's *du* in his quotation of V. & V. 17, 18, in Jour. of Engl. and Germ. Phil. XII, 19, a more correct reading of Holthausen's text or a misprint?

[33] Schröer classifies this as a mistake in transcription and prints as *þu*.

[34] Here *þeo* might be construed as dative.

error, in Laȝ. B (once viz. 17990). The form *þue*, tho rare, is interesting as showing how far a scribe might go in adding inorganic *e*'s to words. It occurs in R. Poems of Digby 2 (2x viz. 2, 43; 2, 47). The form *stu* in V. & V. (103, 19 ȝieme woldest *stu* clepien to gode) is a good example of contamination by a preceding sound combination. Finally, once in Curs. M. *yow* appears to be an error for *þow* (MS. C 2718 þa said þat lauerd, i wil *you* min = MS. G i wil þu minne).

Of the 42 different forms, then, only 7 are to be regarded as common, 24 are either characteristic of isolated monuments only, or are chiefly orthographical variants of less frequent occurrence, while 12 are so rare as to be for most purposes considered negligible.

A comparison of the relative number of forms occurring in the various pieces will furnish a good index to the state of pronunciation and spelling in the different dialects and periods of the thirteenth century. The most important monuments show as follows, taken chronologically:

B. Rule 3 forms, Lamb. Hom. 1, Trin. Hom. 4, Orm. 4, V. & V. 6, Kath. 3, Marh. 3, Jul. 2, Prayers & Hymns 4, Hali M. 2, Ancren R. 3, Laȝ. A 7 and Laȝ. B 5, Gen. & Ex. 4, O. & N. 4, R. Poems of J 3, Best. 2, Kent. Serm. 1, Ass. 3, Digby 86 2, H. H. 4, Psalter 6, Nor. Leg. II 10, So. Leg. 7, B. & S. II 6, Horn (MS. L) 5, Hav. 10, Curs. M. 5, R. Glouc. 5, Kil. Poems 6, Harl. 2253, 3.

II. GENITIVE-POSSESSIVE SINGULAR.

In tracing the development of certain forms it will be convenient to divide the 63 monuments and collections roughly into three periods, viz. the period in which older forms persist, comprising Nos. 1-23, the middle period comprising Nos. 24-45, and the end of the century when Nos. 46-63 were, for the most part, written.

In Nos. 1-23 forms of the gen-poss. ending in *-n* (i. e. *þin, ðin,* exclusive of their inflected forms *þine,* etc.) occur before consonants 274x, before *h* 126x, before vowels 181x, absolutely 20x, postpositively twice; in Nos. 24-45 they occur before cons. 8x, before *h* 35x, before vowels 27x, absol. 11x, postpositively, none; in Nos. 46-63, before cons. 40x, before *h* 62x, before vowels 198x, absol. 27x, postpositively 6x. Since, however, these figures are influenced largely by the statistics for a few long pieces, such as Curs. M., more light will be thrown on the question of the use of these *-n*-forms by the fact that in the first period they occur oftenest before cons. in six different monuments, notably Lamb. Hom., Orm. and Gen. & Ex., in the second period in only Hymns of

CCCO., and in the third period in only R. Glouc. and P. P. From these figures it is evident that by the middle of the century the *-n*-forms were no longer used, as in older English, generally, but were placed for the sake of euphony before vowels and *h*, or as *thine* is used today, absolutely.

The shortened form (*þi, ði*) occurs in every important monument under consideration except B. Rule, which can hardly be called Middle English. It is almost always employed bef. cons. except in the later Northern monuments where it is used bef. *h* frequently and bef. vowels occasionally. It is found bef. *h* in Marh. (once), Ancren R. (once), G. G. (once), Psalter (109x), Nor. Leg. I (once), Nor. Leg. II (24x), So. Leg. (3x), Curs. M. (34x), Kil. Poems (3x), and bef. vowels in Prayers & Hymns (once viz. 202, 36 for *þi* owe sunfulle), in Psalter (once viz. 9, 33 uphoven be *þi* and [MSS. E and H have *hand*]), Nor. Leg. II (once viz. 33, 32), So. Leg. (2x viz. 60, 429; 66, 397) and Curs. M. (once viz. 3788[35]).

For the entire period the occurrences of the *-n*-form and the short form, in the chief monuments, are as follows:

	þin, ðin, tin					*þi, ði, ti*		
	Bef. cons.	Bef. *h*	Bef. vowels	Absol.	Postpos.	Bef. cons.	Bef. *h*	Bef. vows.
1. B. Rule	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
2. Lamb. Hom.	15	2	6	1	..	2	..	..
5. Trin. Hom.	2	1	5	..	..	9	..	..
6. Orm.	174	52	30	..	..	13	..	..
7. V. & V.	21	11	17	1	..	5	..	..
8. Kath.	2	6	3	1	..	40	..	..
9. Marh.	4	1	8	..	..	51	1	..
10. Jul.	..	2	9	1	..	31	..	..
12. S. Warde	..	..	1	..	..	4	..	..
13. Hali M.	..	19	7	1	1	77	..	..
15. Ancren R.	1	4	19	6	..	49	1	..
19. Laȝ. A	4	9	33	1	1	100	..	..
22. Gen. & Ex.	40	3	3	1	1	5	..	..
24. O. & N.	..	1	7	2	..	31	..	..
26. R. Poems of J	..	5	1	..	..	20	..	..
27. Best.	1	1	1	..	..	2	..	..
29. Fl. & Bl.	..	1	2	4	..	14	..	..
35. Digby 86	1	4	2	..	..	28	..	..

[35] The fact that the *-n* of *þin* is occasionally found attached to a following word beginning with a vowel (cf. Psalter 30, 30 *þi nere;* Curs. M., frequently) seems to indicate that *þi* was regarded by the scribe as the natural form and the *n* as a transitional sound used to avoid hiatus and hence to be attached to either the preceding or the following word.

	þin, ðin, tin					þi, ði, ti		
	Bef. cons.	Bef. *h*	Bef. vowels	Absol.	Postpos.	Bef. cons.	Bef. *h*	Bef. vows.
44. H. H.	..	3	3	..	..	6	..	..
46. Psalter	1	1	12	..	..	541	109	1
50. Nor. Leg. I	..	..	..	..	..	11	2	..
51. Nor. Leg. II	..	..	..	..	..	306	23	1
52. So. Leg.	..	10	44	1	..	277	3	2
53. B. & S. II	..	1	6	1	..	40	..	..
54. Horn C	..	1	5	..	..	33	..	..
55. Hav.	..	3	1	3	..	18	..	..
56. Curs. M.	22	19	94	14	6	706	34	1
58. R. Glouc.	23	6	16	4	..	70	..	..
59. Jos.	..	1	1	1	..	12	..	..
60. Kil. Poems	..	2	8	..	..	64	3	..
61. Harl. 2253	7	12	9	4	..	107	..	..

As will be noted farther on, in those pieces where *þin* is largely or altogether lacking (as e. g. Nor. Leg. I & II), *þine* is likely to appear bef. vowels. The use of *þi* absolutely or as a postpositive modifier is altogether unknown.

The so-called inflected form in *-ne* occurs in the first period (Nos. 1-23) bef. cons. 577x, bef. *h* 57x, bef. vowels 96x, absol. 5x, postpositively twice; in Nos. 24-45, bef. cons. 126x, bef. *h* 10x, bef. vowels 13x, absol. 12x, postpos. once; in Nos. 46-63, bef. cons. 122x, bef. *h* 23x, bef. vowels 73x, absol. 30x, postpos. 84x. Only one thing is really proved by these figures, namely, that the form in *-ne* occurs in a great majority of instances bef. cons. The increasing number of times that it is used absolutely does not mean much because this use is found chiefly in Nor. Leg. II (5x) and Curs. M. (16x). Likewise most of the examples of *þine* used as a postpositive modifier are to be found in the Psalter (77x) and are sheer Latinisms.

Since, then, the use of the *-ne* form cannot be explained from the standpoint of euphony, it is evident that the explanation must be sought elsewhere, either in the field of syntax which will be taken up later, or in that of rhythm.

A. Common forms. 1. The O. E. form *þin* predominates over any other one form in Orm. (227x), Eg. Hymns (7x), Hymns of CCCO. (10x), Max. (once) and Dream-Book (3x). It occurs, however, in all other monuments except Gen. & Ex., Best., Kent. Serm., Nor. Leg. I and II, and the smaller pieces P. Mor., Metr. and Prose Credos, Proc., P. P., Thrush, R. Poems of Digby 2, V Gaudia and Marina.

2. The short form *þi* prevails in P. Mor. (3x), Exp. Pat. Nos. (8x), Kath. (31x), Marh. (42x), Jul. (27x), S. Warde (4x), Hali M. (55x), Woh. (46x), Meiden M. (16x), Prose Credo (3x), R. Poems of C & J (19x), R. Poems of J (20x), Fl. & Bl. (14x), Comp. Mar. (10x), Ass. (8x), Digby 86 (28x), Siriz (19x), Eust. (9x), Thrush (7x), Prov. of Hend. (10x), G. G. (18x), Psalter (648x), R. Poems of Digby 2 (5x), Judas (2x), V Gaudia (6x), Nor. Leg. I (11x), Nor. Leg. II (340x), So. Leg. (282x), B. & S. II (40x), Horn (31x), Hav. (18x), Curs. M. (737x), R. Glouc. (70x), Jos. (12x), Kil. Poems (67x), Harl. 2253 (73x) and Marina (4x), and appears with increasing frequency in all other monuments except B. Rule (which has no short forms), Metr. Credo, Gen. & Ex., Best., Kent. Serm., Proc., P. P. and Max.

3. The third common form, *þine*, shows a plurality in B. Rule (11x), Lamb. Hom. (68x), Trin. Hom. (20x), Prayers & Hymns (75x), Ancren R. (125x), Laȝ. A (240x), Laȝ. B (211x), Prov. of A. (10x), Prov. of A. text K-W. (18x), O. & N. (48x), Kent. Serm. (once), Digby Psalter (6x), Vox (8x), B. & S. I (30x), H. ÞH. (8x), and is found in all other monuments except P. Mor., S. Warde, Metr. Credo, Gen. & Ex., Best., Proc., Ass., P. P., Max., R. Poems of Digby 2, V Gaudia, Nor. Leg. I, and Dream-Book.

4. As in the case of the nom. sing., forms with assimilated dental are quite common, altho there is not the opportunity for bringing together an explosive and a spirant dental in the use of gen-poss. forms that there is in the nom. where inversion of verb and pronominal subject is so common. These forms of the gen-poss. occur first in Orm. as follows: *tin* (29x e. g. 685 tatt *tin* wif; 1300; 4418, etc.), *ti* (4x viz. 1607; 4436; 8944; 18818), and *tine* (4x viz. 154 ȝatedd *tine* beness; 684; 1481; 16201). In Orm., with two or three exceptions, these assimilated forms occur always after *-t* or the abbreviation for *and*. After Orm. *tin* occurs in V. & V. (2x), Kath. (3x), Marh. (3x), Hali M. (3x), Woh. (3x), Ancren R. (once), Gen. & Ex. (once), Best. (once), B. & S. II (once viz. 296 al was *tin*); *ti* occurs in Kath. (9x e. g. 314; 448), Marh. (10x e. g. 13, 4; 16, 9; 21, 33, etc.), Jul. (4x viz. 10, 14; 16, 10; 56, 4; 68, 1), Hali M. (after *-t* 15x e. g. 3, 7 forȝet *ti* folc; 15, 25, etc. —after *-d* once viz. 11, 14 hald *ti* nome—after *-s* 6x viz. 3, 23 as *ti* muð; 9, 6; 11, 2; 31, 14; 43, 21 þu marres *ti* meidenhad; 43, 22), Woh. (after *-d* or *-t* 7x e. g. 273, 22; 277, 31; 281, 31, etc.—after *-s* 3x viz. 269, 19; 273, 36; 275, 6), Ancren R. (7x, always after *-t* e. g. 98, 25; 100, 3, etc.), Meid. M. (once viz. 123 wend *ti* mod), G. G. (once viz. 4, 42, ine *ti* chilthing), Curs. M. (once viz. 20193 Quat es *ti* name); and *tine* oc-

curs in Kath. (once viz. 2069), Marh. (2x viz. 9, 30; 21, 3), Hali M. (3x viz. 3, 7; 3, 16), Woh. (2x viz. 273, 8 þu . . . lesedes *tine* prisuns; 281, 26 at *tine* finger neiles), Ancren R. (3x viz. 100, 27; 104, 4; 244, 6), Metr. Credo (once viz. 39 in hondes *tine* = in manus tuas), Best. (once viz. 209 sei ðu . . . to ðe prest sinnes *tine*), G. G. (once viz. 3, 57), V Gaudia (once viz. 53 Mit *tine* sone) and Curs. M. (2x viz. 2361 þou and *tine*; 2386). With a few exceptions, most of which have been especially noted above, the assimilation takes place after *-t,* or *-d,* or the abbreviation of *and.* Outside of Orm. most of the occurrences of assimilated forms of the gen-poss. sing. are in the southern alliterative homilies and saints' lives and Ancren R., all in the first quarter of the century. Laȝ. has none, and in all the other later monuments less than a dozen forms have been found.

B. Forms less common. 1. Forms spelled with initial ð are, as might be expected, confined to a very few MSS. *þin* occurs predominantly in Gen. & Ex. (47x) and Best. (2x), also less commonly in V. & V. (39x), Prayers & Hymns (once), and Metr. Credo (2x); *ði* occurs in V. & V. (3x), Prayers & Hymns (once), Metr. Credo (2x), Gen. & Ex. (5x) and Best. (once); *ðine* prevails in V. & V. (108x) and is to be found less commonly in Prayers & Hymns (4x), Ancren R. (10x), Gen. & Ex. (3x) and Best (once).

2. Forms introducing the use of *y,* i. e. *þyn, þy* and *þyne* all occur in two MSS., Laud 108 and Harl. 2253, with two exceptions. *þyn* occurs in H. H. Harl. MS. (4x viz. 79; 156; 159; 198), Horn Laud MS. (2x viz. 1294; 1296), Harl. 2253 (10x), Dream-Book (once); *þy* occurs in H. H. Digby MS. (once viz. 190), H. H. Harl. MS. (2x viz. 71; 161), Horn Laud MS. (10x), Harl. 2253 (34x) and Dream-Book (once); *þyne,* less common, appears only in R. Poems of J (once viz. 1, 482 in *þyne* honde), H. H. Harl. MS. (4x viz. 120; 212; 240; 246) and in Horn Laud MS. (2x viz. 869; 871).

3. The later forms *thin* and *thi*[36] occur, in all, 9x, namely, *thin* in G. G. (once viz. 4, 27) and P. P. (2x viz. 5; 37) and *thi* in Psalter (3x viz. 20, 7; 44, 12; 118, 107), Nor. Leg. II (2x viz. 1, 373; 2, 508) and P. P. (once viz. 8).

4. A small but very interesting group of forms show the O. E. inflectional endings still in use. The masc-neut. gen. *þines* occurs in B. Rule (3x viz. 3, 5; 3, 6; 107, 18), Lamb. Hom. (6x viz. 11, 26; 17, 35; 21, 3; 37, 29; 39, 7; 51, 8), V. & V. (2x viz. 111, 1; 111, 8), Laȝ. A

[36] See note 26, page 29.

[37] Laȝ. B has *þine* in all these cases, or nothing.

(4x viz. 3517; 16546; 17958; 28605[37]) and *ðines* in V. & V. (4x viz. 39, 25; 109, 28; 109, 32; 111, 7). The masc. acc. *þinne* occurs in B. Rule (once viz. 37, 31), Ancren R. (once viz. 106, 28), Laȝ. A (9x viz. 5074 leoue *þinne* broðer; 11494; 13067; 13571; 16078; 22182; 12945; 13341; 18916[38]), Laȝ. B (once, 22650 of kensipe *þinne*), So. Leg. (2x viz. 9, 439; 55, 230), and *ðinne* in V. & V. (2x viz. 71, 14; 73, 6[39]). The fem. sing. gen. and dat. form *þire*, showing assimilation and absorption of the earlier *n* (O. E. *þinre*) occurs in B. Rule (once, 3, 7), Lamb. Hom. (2x viz. 21, 1; 33, 5), Prayers & Hymns (once, 199, 169), Laȝ. A (50x e. g. 8893; 11763, etc.[40]), Prov. of A. MS. J (once, 242), O. & N. MS. C (7x viz. 429; 914; 915; 1650—with *þine* in MS. J 1652; 1740; 1116), R. Poems of J (once, 6, 49) and once in Curs. M. where it is looked upon with suspicion by Morris, probably because it modifies a neuter noun (4313 Thoru *þire* [Morris prints *þine*] ei þe sal be sent A flam). A variant form *ðire* occurs in V. & V. (10x e. g. 83, 21; 97, 17; 113, 25, etc.) and in Prayers & Hymns (4x viz. p. 199, vv. 149, 154, 165, 168); also V. & V. has a Kentish form *ðiere* (once, 141, 27). In the rather archaic B. Rule the O. E. form *þinre* occurs (for the last time?) (6x viz. 3, 6; 3, 8; 5, 30; 5, 31; 9, 12; 17, 3). Of the older plur. forms *þinra* occurs in Lamb. Hom. (once, 111, 8 for þu ane ne brukest naut *þinra* welena), *þinum* in B. Rule (2x viz. 33, 26; 35, 8), and *ðinen*, a partially worn down dat. plur. in V. & V. (2x viz. 77, 21 Gif ðu him laust ani þing of *ðinen*; al swa ðu hafst aure idon bi alle *ðinen*).

The O. E. inflectional forms may be said to appear for the last time in southern England shortly after 1200 A. D. except the fem. *þire* which persisted until about the middle of the century, and *þine* which will be considered again in Sec. III.

C. Miscellaneous forms. 1. A unique form *hin*, instead of *þin*, in G. G. (once, 4, 11 Jhesu Crist, *hin* hertelith, was iqueint) is probably the work of some scribe who had trouble in pronouncing words having English þ.[41]

2. The short form *þi* is represented by *þe* in Curs. M. (4x) where the substitution is plainly an error on the part of a scribe, since the other MSS. have *þi* and the context demands it (3658; 5252 Sin i *þe* face, leue

[38] In the last three the MS. has *þine* but with the bar above the *i* to signify another *n*.

[39] The use and misuse of these forms will be considered in detail in Sec. III under Syntax of Gen-Poss. Sing.

[40] Laȝ. B substitutes for this form *þin* 10x and *þine* 28x.

[41] Jacoby cites (p. 15) a considerable number of instances where *h* and *þ* are interchanged in the 'Geistliche Gedichte.'

sun, ha sene; 12798; 26764[42]). This confusion is quite natural in some constructions where one may choose between a dat-acc. *þe* used as indir. obj. and possessive *þi*.

3. The longer form shows several unimportant variations, particularly *þane* in Laȝ. B (15859 Let cumen . . . Joram *þane* [A. *þine*] wittye), *þeine* in Laȝ. B (24956 *þeine* reades ne buþ noht agon), *þime* in Laȝ. A (3701 efter *þime* [B. *þine*] daie), *þhine* in Psalter (118, 8 *þhine* rightwisenesses I sal yheme in thoght[43]) and probably *þira* (perhaps *þina*, the MS. is not clear) in Laȝ. A (2988 for *þira* [B. *þine*] gretinge) and *þina* in Laȝ. A (1541 *þina* [B. *þine*] stepa main).

4. An inflected form *þinna* seems to be a mistake for *þinne* in B. Rule (once, 37, 5 forþyldiȝa *þinna* drihten), and *þirum* for a dat. plur. *þinum* in B. Rule (once, 17, 5 on *þirum* ȝinȝrum).

Of the 35 forms noted above only 6 are to be classed as common; 19 are less common, to be accounted for in four ways, namely, as due to a dialectal tendency to use ð initially, to the re-introduction of initial *th*, to the use of *y* instead of *i*, and to the persistence of O. E. inflectional forms; and the 10 miscellaneous forms, for the most part, are merely scribal errors which might easily be edited out of sight.

III. DATIVE-ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR.

1. The common form all thru the century is *þe*. In four monuments only is it supplanted by any other form, namely, in V. & V., Metr. Credo, Gen. & Ex. and Best. where ðe prevails. Even then *þe* occurs in V. & V. (30x e. g. 17, 21; 23, 27; 33, 3, etc.). Of the pieces where *þe* prevails ðe is also found in Lamb. Hom. (once viz. 135, 28), Trin. Hom. (3x viz. 9, 2; 21, 19; 29, 33), Prayers & Hymns (28x), and Ancren R. (4x viz. 12, 18; 26, 6; 40, 13; 40, 16).

2. The assimilated form *te* is quite common in the early part of the century, being found in Orm. (78x e. g. 151; 1214; 1446; 2808, etc.), V. & V. (15x e. g. 9, 31; 75, 18; 87, 19, etc.), Marh. (11x), Kath. (8x), Jul. (7x), Hali M. (22x), Woh. (7x), Ancren R. (21x), Meidan M. (once), Prov. of A. text K-W (2x viz. 524; 648), Best. (once, 181); in the second half of the century it occurs only in Comp. Mar. (once viz. 13), G. G. (2x viz. 1, 17 dred *te* nout; 4, 18), V Gaudia (once viz. 27), B. & S. II (once, 193), Cursor M. (19x e. g. 20185; 20362; 20687, etc.).

[42] On the other hand, in a few instances *þi* is just as clearly a mistake for the article *þe* (cf. 2568; 6859; 8652).

[43] According to Wendes' collation, p. 3.

Never as common as the assimilated form of the nom. sing., it grows less frequent later in the century.[44] It usually follows *-t*, less often *-d*, and occasionally *-s* or some other sound in V. & V. (after *-f* once viz. 87, 18 Ac ðu me drifst ut of *te*—after *-s* 2x viz. 75, 25; 111, 7 ær ðe deað hes *te* benime), Marh. (after *-s* once viz. 16, 17), Hali M. (after *-s* 4x viz. 9, 3; 41, 18; 43, 18 þu telles [B. *-est*] *te*; 47, 25—after *-m* once viz. 31, 15 went him *te* to weane [B he went hit]), Woh. (after *-s* 5x viz. 273, 31 aȝaines *te*; 275, 31; 283, 6; 275, 8; 275, 25), Meidan M. (292 Ði louerd haet igrete *te*), Best. (once after *-s* viz. 181), Comp. Mar. (after *-s* once viz. 13 childing pine haues *te* nou picht), G. G. (after *-s* once viz. 4, 18 as *te* behichte Simeon) and in Curs. M. (after *-s* 5x viz. 20074; 20289 quat es *te*; 20301; 20435; 20627—after *-l* 2x viz. 924 sal *te*; 20326). Never is the assimilated form of the dat-acc. to be found in contraction with a preceding word.

3. A few cases of contraction with following words occur, namely þ- in G. G. (3, 30 þe hosket, þat þe *þauet* bitaut) and in So. Leg. (9, 790 i segge *þit*), þe- in Orm. (2x viz. 5266 ȝiff þu lufesst mann, *þet*[45] birrþ Wiþþ gode dedess shæwenn; 6113), *te-* also in Orm. (2x viz. 5264 Forr ȝiff þu lufesst Godd, *tet*[45] birrþ Wiþþ gode dedess shæwenn; 18279) and ðe- in V. & V. (75, 23 to ðe*ward*). The last example is unlike the others however in that no letter is lost in combining.

4. Forms suggestive of the modern spelling are *the*[46] in Prose Credo (1, 11), Hymns of CCCO. (1, 11), Psalter (144, 15), Judas (8), Nor. Leg. I (5x viz. 1, 231; 1, 386; 2, 169; 2, 275; 2, 505) and Nor. Leg. II (once viz. 23, 281); and *þee* in Laȝ. B (once viz. 3688) and Curs. M.[47] (once, 5201).

5. Two dialectal forms occur: ðie in Kentish V. & V. (once viz. 23, 31); and *þeo* in Laȝ. B (16081 hii *þeo* wolleþ after teo) and in R. Poems of J (1, 138: *beo*).

6. The remaining forms are probably all due to scribal or typographical errors: *þa* in Curs. M. (1247), *ke* in Curs. M. (6243), *de* in Metr. Credo (35), *þo* in Laȝ. B (6235), and *þi* in Curs. M. (4x viz. 1177 But i sal seit on *þi* mi merk; 8326; 24651; 27483).

[44] While Cursor M. is apparently an exception to this statement, I am strongly inclined to believe that it should be dated much earlier than the position I have assigned to it in the order of monuments. It shows archaic forms not characteristic of late thirteenth-century northern dialect.

[45] These forms have a triple accent above the vowel in the Orm. MS.

[46] Regarding texts incorrectly printed with *th* see note 26, page 29. It would not be surprising if some of the examples cited here should prove to be misprints.

[47] In later MSS. of Curs. M. *þee* is a common spelling.

The total number of forms noted is 16; of these 3 only are at all common, 8 can be accounted for as resulting from rather common phonetic or special dialectal tendencies, while 5 are probably mistakes.

IV. INTENSIVE-REFLEXIVE SINGULAR FORMS.

Here, also, just as in the case of the gen-poss. form *þine*, the syntax of the pronoun must be settled before definite conclusions can be reached. Hence only forms can be summarized here and more conclusive results hoped for from the syntactical study of Sec. III. In general it may be said that the thirteenth century witnessed that change which made out of the older pronoun plus the intensive appositive (e. g. Laȝ. A 7336 *þu sulf* ært swiðe gripel) a new compound which acted as a grammatical unit. There were three distinct stages in the development of this new pronoun, namely, the early combination of any case of the simple personal pronoun with the intensive *self*, next the use of the dat-acc. form with *self* as a more or less distinct entity, and finally the modern combination of gen-poss. and *self*.

A. The older combination of nom. sing. and *self* occurs as follows: *þu sulf* in Laȝ. A (3x viz. 7314; 9825; 7336 quoted above) and in O. & N. (once, 497); *þu seolf* in Laȝ. A (3x viz. 3192; 16835; 17228) and in Laȝ. B (4x viz. 7314; 14941; 17938; 3192); and *þou self* in Curs. M. (once viz. 27960).

B. The forms having dat-acc. *þe* show three inflectional grades, viz., the uninflected, that with *-e* and that with *-en* (*-an*). 1. The uninflected forms are *þe self* found in Orm. (7x, spelled *sellf*, e. g. 1190; 1288; 4162; 4666, etc.), Hali M. (3x viz. 27, 14 þat tu *þeself* sulest; 29, 14; 35, 17), Woh. (4x viz. 271, 9; 273, 9; 279, 5; 287, 3), and Curs. M. (6x viz. 8639; 12804; 18278; 19576; 20954; 28638), *þe seolf* in MS. T of P. Mor. (once viz. 30[48]) and Hymns of CCCO. (once, 3, 18), *þe sulf* in Ancren R. (3x viz. 100, 12; 100, 18; 102, 16), *ðe self* in Gen. & Ex. (once, 934), *þa self* in Orm. (once viz. 5288), and, with assimilated dental, the forms *te self* in Orm. (after *t* 5x viz. 1252 arrt *te sellf*[49] aȝȝ milde; 1306; 9395; 10142; 11987) and in MS. R of Hali M. (once viz. 27, 1) and *te seolf* in Kath. (once, 2378) and in Marh. (once, 16, 31).

2. The forms inflected with *-e* show six variations: *þe sylfe* in B. Rule (once, 143, 14), *þe selue* in MS. C of Horn (once, 49) and in MS. E of Curs. M. (once, 19576), *þe seolue* in O. & N. (once, 1284), *þe solue*

[48] The later MSS. have *þi* instead of *þe*.

[49] Always spelled *sellf* in Orm.

in Exp. Pat. Nos. (once, 200), *þe sylue* in B. Rule (once, 125, 24) and *þæ seolue* in Laȝ. A (once, 15851).

3. The forms inflected with *-en* (*-an*) are 10 in number: *þe selfen*[50] in Orm. (31x e. g. 2450; 3748; 4859, etc.), *þe seolfen* in Lamb. Hom. (once, 27, 36), *þe sylfan* in B. Rule (once, 17, 5), *te selfen*[50] in Orm. (3x viz. 4469 þu skaþesst first *te sellfenn*; 5121; 6847), *þe seluen* in V. & V. (once, 37, 26), Woh. (6x viz. 271, 9 . 17 . 23; 277, 20 . 22; 285, 28) and Curs. M. (once, 5429), *þe selwen* in text K-W of Prov. of A. (2x viz. 547; 562), *þe seoluen* in Exp. Pat. Nos. (once, 40), Kath. (2x viz. 634; 1454), Marh. (3x viz. 4, 19; 7, 17; 19, 15), Jul. (3x viz. 26, 8; 56, 5; 60, 4) and in Laȝ. A (10x e. g. 5051; 9840; 13115; 17938; 25312, etc.), *þe suluen* in Ancren R. (once, 340, 12) and in Prayers & Hymns (once viz. 193, 66), *ðe seluen* in V. & V. (22x e. g. 23, 6; 41, 2; 49, 20, etc.) and in Gen. & Ex. (once, 1319), and *ðe suluen* in Prayers & Hymns (once, 195, 64) and in Ancren R. (once, 340, 12).

C. The forms compounded with gen-poss. *þi*, like the preceding ones, have the three inflectional grades. 1. The uninflected forms are found most frequently and in all dialects: *þi self* occurs in Digby 86 (2x viz. 35, 61; 35, 88), Psalter (2x viz. 50, 9; 101, 28), Nor. Leg. II (15x e. g. 1, 62; 1, 237; 14, 245; 34, 719, etc.), So. Leg. (2x viz. 27, 2032; 30, 43), Curs. M. (30x e. g. 1666; 8309; 16488; 26581, etc.) and in Harl. 2253 (once viz. W 1, 18); *þi seolf* is a Southern form found in Jul. (once, 22, 2), Prayers & Hymns (once, 202, 15), Laȝ. A (once, 17963), Laȝ. B (6x viz. 3192; 7314; 7336; 14941; 17938; 17963), R. Poems of J (once, 1, 350) and So. Leg. (2x viz. 15, 339; 48, 148); a Southern and Western form *þi sulf* occurs in Ancren R. (6x viz. 124, 9 . 16; 180, 17; 276, 16; 294, 11; 336, 16), Laȝ. A (once, 31097), So. Leg. (6x viz. 10, 194 . 379; 19, 42; 25, 57 . 154; 9, 1147) and R. Glouc. (3x viz. 1082; 4006; 4918).

2. The forms inflected with *-e* are 5 in number: *þi selve* in B. & S. II (once, 208), *þi seolue* in Laȝ. B (3x viz. 17899; 25312; 26386) and in R. Poems of J (3x viz. 1, 141 . 452 . 457), *þi silue* in Laȝ. B (once, 5051), *þi sulue* in Laȝ. B (once, 15851), So. Leg. (once, 59, 51) and R. Glouc. (2x viz. 3322; 6301), and *þy selue* in Harl. 2253 (once, G17, 82).

3. Three forms occur inflected with *-en*: *þi seluen* in Nor. Leg. II (2x viz. 16, 456; 23, 504) and in Curs. M. (4x viz. 4362; 4604; 10435; 25315), *þi seoluen* in MS. B of Kath. (once, 1454) and Laȝ. A (once, 17899), and *þi suluen* in Ancren R. (3x viz. 120, 1; 304, 10; 296, 18).

[50] Spelled *sellfenn* by Orm.

The fact that the intens-reflex. sing. is a phrase, or later even a compound, with the second element capable of inflection makes a greater number of variations possible than in some other forms of the pronoun. Of the 37 variations listed above the first 3 are dialectal variants of the older combination of pronoun intensified by a following adjective *self*. They occur rather early in the century except in Curs. M.[51] once.

The forms with dat-acc. *þe* are much more numerous and cover the period under consideration from B. Rule only down to about 1250 A. D. except, again, in Curs. M. and once in Horn, C text. It is to be noted, however, that even in this period of time two distinct phases of this second stage of development occur, one merely the older use of the intensive *self* with dat-acc. *þe* (e. g. Lamb. Hom. 27, 36 þu wreiest *þe seolfen*), the other the use of this combination as a distinct entity (e. g. Marh. 16, 31 ure cunde ant ure cun þat tu cost *te seolf* iseon). Since the question of use is involved here it is necessary to defer further examination of this group until Sec. III is reached. As to the relative occurrence of uninflected or inflected forms of the intens-reflex. sing. formed with *þe* the figures are as follows:

1. Uninflected. 7 forms in 11 pieces 36x.
2. Inflected with *-e*. 6 forms in 6 pieces 7x.
3. Inflected with *-en* (*-an*). 10 forms in 15 pieces 90x.

No special periods are observable for their use but they occur in most monuments before about the middle of the century and often two, occasionally all three, forms side by side in the same monument. For examples of pieces having two out of the three see B. Rule, Exp. Pat. Nos., Orm., Kath., Marh., Ancren R. and Gen. & Ex.; for all three, Laȝ.

The earliest form with gen-poss. *þi* found is *þi seoluen* in MS. B of Kath. (1454 to *þi seoluen*). Then a form with *þi* occurs in Jul., several in Ancren R. and Laȝ. A and in the second half of the century they practically exclude all others. Here also a distinction, syntactical in its nature, will be made farther on between those examples where *þi* modifies a substantive *self* and the more common ones where *þi self* is a grammatical unity.

The uninflected and inflected forms occur as follows:

1. Uninflected. 3 forms in 12 pieces 78x.
2. Inflected with *-e*. 6 forms in 6 pieces 13x.
3. Inflected with *-en*. 5 forms in 5 pieces 11x.

The above figures would seem to indicate a growing tendency to

[51] See page 38, note 44.

regard *self* as no longer an inflected adjective but rather as a part of a fixed pronominal form.

For the rest, the minor variations of form are due either to phonological tendencies which are general (e. g. *te selfen* after a dental stop) or to dialectal tendencies (e. g. Southern *seolf*, Southern and Western *sulf*), or to orthographical peculiarities largely local or temporary (e. g. *ðe self, þe sylfe*).

It is worthy of remark that the two parts of the intens-reflex. combination with *þi* are occasionally written as one word in monuments of the second half of the century (e. g. B. & S. II, Curs. M.). This may be taken as additional evidence that the compound was at that time regarded as a grammatical entity, altho it is not safe to place too much stress upon this evidence since scribes were careless about spacing and since moreover this would be a point in which modern editors would be especially likely to err.

V. NOMINATIVE DUAL.

The nom. dual occurs in only 4 monuments, in 2 forms; a form showing Southern influence, *ȝet*, occurs in La3. A (4x viz. 5618; 24990; 32147; 32163), and the regular O. E. form *ȝit* in Lamb. Hom. (once, 93, 5), Orm. (spelled *ȝitt*, 20x e. g. 4498; 6202; 12362; 13018, etc.), V. & V. (4x viz. 97, 24 . 26 . 27 . 31) and La3. A (9x e. g. 5019; 5020; 5093; 9428, etc.). La3. B replaces the nom. dual with *ȝe* or *ȝeo* and nowhere does it occur after the first quarter of the century.

VI. GENITIVE-POSSESSIVE DUAL.

The gen-poss. dual is more common than the nom. dual and shows more variation in form. Uninflected forms with the O. E. initial vowel are *incker* in S. Warde (once, 265, 32) and in La3. A (once, 5102 *incker* moder = La3. B *ȝoure*) and *inker* in Hali M. (2x viz. 3, 22; 31,18). The form *unker*, apparently due to confusion with the dual of the 1st pers., occurs in La3. A (2x viz. 26541; 32170) and Hav. (once, 1882). An inflected form *inckere* occurs in La3. A (once, 5623).

Especially interesting because they show that the dual had the same tendency as the oblique cases of the plur. to acquire an initial consonant ȝ (*g, y*) are the forms *ȝinker* which occurs in V. & V. (once, 97, 30 þat godd, *ȝinker* sceppend, mihte . . .), *ȝunker*, in Orm. (spelled *ȝunnkerr*, 11x e. g. 4497; 6204; 6210; 6217; 6244; 13019; 13045, etc.) and in V. & V. (2x viz. 95, 13; 97, 26), and *gunker* in Gen. & Ex. (once, 398).

With the exception of the isolated occurrences in Gen. & Ex. and Hav., the gen-poss. dual persists no longer than the nom. dual. In the 7 pieces noted, 7 forms occur only 23x (11x in Orm.). Yet in these few forms are manifest a tendency to confuse with the 1st pers. dual (probably because of their very lack of familiarity), a tendency to use inflectional *-e* and a tendency to adopt an initial consonant ȝ (*g*).

VII. DATIVE-ACCUSATIVE DUAL.

Much the same things are true of the dat-acc. dual. The O. E. form *inc* occurs in Marh. (once, 21, 33), Jul. (once, 18, 14), Hali M. (once, 11, 14), and Laȝ. A (7x viz. 5102; 5619; 5621; 5636; 18105; 32162; 32168). Two forms show the initial *h* (added so often to initial vowels in certain monuments of the South), namely, *hinc* in Lamb. Hom. (once, 93, 5) and *hunke,* with a superfluous final *-e* as well, in O. & N. (once, 1733-4 *Hunke* schal i-tide harm & schonde, ȝef ȝe [J has *we*] doþ griþbruche on his londe[52]). Five forms with initial consonant ȝ (*g*) occur, namely, *ȝinc* in V. & V. (once, 97, 30), *ȝing* in V. & V. (once, 97, 13), *ȝung* in V. & V. (once, 97, 26), *ȝunnc* in Orm. (20x e. g. 6207; 6228; 8663; 12363; 13012, etc.), and *gunc* in Gen. & Ex. (once, 2830). The form *hit* in Laȝ. A (5619 ich *hit* wulle freoiȝen) is probably a scribal error due to a confusion of *hinc* and nom. *ȝit.*

Like the gen-poss. dual, the dat-acc. shows a variety of forms quite out of proportion to the number of occurrences. Here also the cause is largely lack of familiarity with the dual, probably.

VIII. INTENSIVE-REFLEXIVE DUAL FORMS.

A single example of the intens-reflex. dual occurs in Laȝ. A (695 þu miht wel helpen *inc seluen*).

IX. NOMINATIVE PLURAL.

The nom. plur. forms, like those of the nom. sing., may be divided into three general groups according to their relative importance.

A. Common forms. 1. The most widely used form thruout the century is *ȝe*; it occurs exclusively in Kath. (37x), Marh. (7x), Jul. (27x), S. Warde (4x), Laȝ. A (172x), R. Poems of C (6x), O. & N.

[52] The fact that J has *we* instead of *ȝe* need not influence our decision regarding the person of *Hunke* since confusion of *y* and the letter 'wen' is common in the two MSS. (cf. Wells' ed., p. 153, note 57).

MS. C (8x), Fl. & Bl. (6x), B. & S. I (5x), Nor. Leg. I (17x), So. Leg. (420x), MS. C of Horn (9x), Jos. (26x), Harl. 2253 (8x), and in a number of other minor pieces, while it predominates in B. Rule (9x), Lamb. Hom. (71x), Orm. (59x), V. & V. (29x), Ancren R. (367x), Digby 86 (26x), R. Glouc. (127x), Kil. Poems (66x), etc. and occurs less often in Trin. Hom. (4x), Laȝ. B (77x), Nor. Leg. II (84x), Curs. M. (19x), etc.

2. The more modern form *ye* is next in importance, being used exclusively in Meidan M. (6x), Prov. of A. MS. J (5x), R. Poems of J (49x), O. & N. MS. J (6x), Judas (2x) and Hav. (34x), predominating in P. Mor. MS. J (3x), Kent. Serm. (21x) and Horn MS. L (4x), and occurring less often in B. Rule (2x), Ancren R. (once), Gen. & Ex. (once), Psalter (20x), Nor. Leg. II (once), B. & S. II (once), Curs. M. (30x), and in Kil. Poems (once viz. 9, 16[53]).

3. Contrasting to the above form O. E. *ge* occurs predominantly in Trin. Hom. (23x), Gen. & Ex. (22x) and Best. (2x), and less frequently in B. Rule, Lamb. Hom. and K-W. text of Prov. of A.

B. Forms less common. Most of these are peculiar to single monuments and may in some cases represent the vagaries of individual scribes. A contracted form occurs in Orm. (3x viz. 3367 tær *ȝet*[54] muȝhenn findenn; 9006; 16693), *ȝee* occurs in Curs. M. MS. C (51x), a dialectal form *ȝie* in MS. T of P. Mor. (once) and in V. & V. (24x), *ȝeo* in Laȝ. B (54x), *yee* predominates in Curs. M. (577x), and *yhe* in Psalter (37x). A dialectal variant of the older form, *gie,* occurs in Trin. Hom. (4x) and in MS. E of Curs. M. (35x).

C. Miscellaneous forms. A seemingly curious form *ze* is printed in Horstmann's edition of Nor. Leg. II (104x). Whether this *z* is a phonetic variant of a strongly spirant ȝ or merely Horstmann's method of representing a peculiarly written ȝ could not be decided except, perhaps, by a careful examination of the MS. It is the work of the second scribe exclusively and begins with p. 19, l. 170 of Horstmann's edition.

The forms *hie* in V. & V. (135, 16 ff. Hec est enim uoluntas dei, san[c]tificatio uestra, 'Ðis is iwis godes wille,' he sade, 'þat *hie* ben hali'), *hye* in Kent. Serm. (28, 21) and perhaps *he* in Hav. (2207), are probably attempts to represent that Kentish pronunciation occasionally manifested in fourteenth-century monuments.[55] The remaining isolated forms

[53] Written in later ink.

[54] In the MS. *e* is written with a double accent mark in each instance.

[55] Cf. *yhe* in Wars of Alexander, Dublin MS. ll. 1034; 1801; 1866 (ed. Skeat) or Pricke of Conscience ll. 68; 400; 4046, etc. (ed. Morris).

are probably all mistakes rather than deliberate attempts to represent peculiar pronunciations. They are *ȝeu* in Kil. Poems (1, 39), *ȝȝe* in R. Glouc. (9360) and *þe* in Digby 86 (38, 229) and in Psalter (112, 1 Name of laverd herihe *þe*).

Excluding those forms which are peculiar to certain monuments only or which occur as isolated forms, there remain only the three common forms *ge, ȝe, ye,* illustrating the development of the modern form from the O. E. The older form *ge* occurs last in Gen. & Ex. and Best., not later than about 1250 A. D., the transitional form *ȝe* is common at all times, while the modern form *ye* does not appear to any extent until about 1250 A. D.[56]

X. GENITIVE-POSSESSIVE PLURAL.

The gen-poss. plur. shows 71 different forms, phonetic and orthographical. These fall into two great groups and one small one, namely, those beginning with a vowel and those with initial *g, ȝ* or *y,* and those few newly developed absolute possessives ending in *-s.* Each large group must be subdivided into uninflected and inflected or *-e*-forms,[57] altho a careful analysis of the forms is not possible until their use in the sentence shall have been examined in Section III.

A. There are 35 different forms beginning with a vowel, found for the most part in the earlier half of the century and in the Southern and Western monuments.

I. Uninflected forms. 1. The most common forms are *ower* found in Exp. Pat. Nos. (once, 221), Lamb. Hom. (6x e. g. 12, 23; 29, 10; 33, 18, etc.), Trin. Hom. (2x viz. 17, 25; 21, 10), *Kath.[58] (17x e. g. 1263, 1398, etc.), *Marh. (2x viz. 23, 10; 6, 16), *Jul. (10x e. g. 18, 1; 22, 14; 72, 13, etc.), *Ancren R. (91x e. g. 112, 27; 188, 6; 356, 30), MS. C of O. & N. (3x viz. 1685; 1699; 1736), Fl. & Bl. (once, 534), Ass. (3x viz. 194; 207; 208), So. Leg. (20x e. g. 27, 2044; 36, 400; 40, 177, etc.), MS. C of Horn (once, 978) and R. Glouc. (4x viz. 10285; 10310 twice; 11710), *eower* in B. Rule (2x viz. 5, 18 . 19), *Lamb. Hom. (18x e. g. 13, 30; 105, 21; 145, 27, etc.), *Laȝ. A (18x e. g. 12491; 21453; 29866, etc.) and So. Leg. (9x e. g. 15, 87; 21, 40; 56, 262, etc.),

[56] The earlier occurrences in B. Rule and Ancren R. are so few as to be suspiciously like misprints.

[57] Since the one occurrence of an *-n*-form (*eowran*) is in B. Rule, an essentially O. E. piece, it is not necessary to make a third subdivision in *-n* as was the case in the intens-reflex. sing.

[58] The form under discussion predominates whenever a monument is starred.

eouwer in La3. A (16x e. g. 13836; 16454; 2284, etc.) and in So. Leg. (12x e. g. 9, 835; 20, 132; 55, 122, etc.) and *ouwer* in Ancren R. (18x e. g. 116, 2; 148, 4; 186, 12; 192, 16, etc.) and in *So. Leg. (46x e. g. 9, 552; 15, 169; 27, 479, etc.).

2. Less common are the monosyllabic forms *or* in Harl. 2253 (3x viz. W 6, 17 twice; G 2, 39) and Marina (once, 2) and *our* in Ancren R. (17x e. g. 64, 18; 80, 19; 92, 25, etc.) and in La3. B (once, 10608).

3. Other less common forms, mostly orthographical variants of the above, are: *eouer* in La3. A (once, 1053), *eovwer* in So. Leg. (2x viz. 27, 1011; 29, 103), *eur* in MS. J of O. & N. (once, 1699) and R. Poems of J (4x viz. 1, 319 . 370 . 425 . 428), *euwer* in Lamb. Hom. (4x viz. 11, 25; 13, 21 . 27 . 27), *ovwer* in So. Leg. (once, 27, 2071), *owr* in Ancren R. (2x viz. 10, 8; 186, 7) and *owur* in Ancren R. (2x viz. 190, 10; 216, 27).

4. Four forms occur which vary more markedly from the common ones, namely, *œouwer* in La3. A (once, 27217), *œuwer* in La3. A (once, 20763), *eorwer* in La3. A (2x viz. 5771 [59]; 21436), and *eour* in Lamb. Hom. (once, 15, 32).

II. Inflected forms. 1. The most common inflected forms, corresponding only in part to the common uninflected ones, are, in order of importance: *oure,* found in Ancren R. (9x e. g. 50, 19; 64, 15; 266, 6, etc.), Meidan M. (3x viz. 1; 2; 131), La3. B (6x e. g. 7906; 9502; 15252, etc.), R. Poems of C (2x viz. 22, 68; 23, 4), MS. J of O. & N. (once, 1685), *Digby 86 (3x viz. 231; 328; 333), Eust. (once, 93), B. & S. I (once, 37, 4 [60]) and B. & S. II (once, 407), *eure,* in the Jesus Coll. MS. only in R. Poems of C & J (2x viz. 22, 68; 23, 4), Prov. of A. (2x viz. 28; 33), O. & N. (once, 1736) and R. Poems of J (5x viz. 1, 339 . 371; 3, 309 . 314; 4, 52), *eoure* in La3. A (11x e. g. 5440; 15252; 19532; 20603, etc.), R. Poems of C (once, 25, 90) and So. Leg. (2x viz. 20, 127 . 138), and *eowre* in B. Rule (once, 5, 4), Lamb. Hom. (once, 91, 14) and La3. A (16x e. g. 7906; 9502; 10608; 12502, etc.).

2. Much less common are the trisyllabic forms where inflectional *-e* is added to the uninflected forms noted above, but without syncopation. These are *eouwere* in La3. A (once, 19539) and in So. Leg. (2x viz. 15, 171; 21, 36), *eowere* in B. Rule (once, 85, 13), *evwere* in So. Leg. (once, 59, 28), *ouwere* in So. Leg. (2x viz. 28, 70; 56, 209), and *owere* in So. Leg. (once, 9, 388).

[59] Madden says, "A correction has been imperfectly made by two successive hands, on an erasure."

[60] In 4 other instances *oure* is ambiguous but probably in the first person (41, 4; 43, 2 thrice).

3. Other less common forms are phonetic or orthographical variants of the more common dissyllabic forms or else merely inflected forms of the monosyllables. These are *eore* in Lamb. Hom. (once, 91, 13) and La3. A (4x viz. 4413; 6254; 13392; 19175), *ore* in La3. A (once, 5874), *ovre* in So. Leg. (once, 27, 2085), *owre* in Ancren R. (once, 32, 1), and *houre*, with 'Cockney' *h*, in Eust. (once, 254 Were suldich *houre* fere be?).

4. A single form with inflectional *-n*, *eowran*, occurs in B. Rule (once, 59, 24 Ðeowiað *eowran* drihtne mid eȝe).

5. The remaining miscellaneous forms are *œure* in La3. A (once, 32173), *œoure* in La3. A (once, 6746) and *eoweore* in La3. A (once, 7894).

B. The forms of the gen-poss. plur. beginning with a consonant *g*, *ȝ* or *y* (aside from the few absolutes ending in *-s*) are 33 in number. They occur in all dialects and thruout the entire period under consideration. Like those of the preceding general group, they may be subdivided into uninflected and inflected or *-e*-forms. Like the nom. plur., the forms of the gen-poss. plur. show a gradual shifting from an earlier *g* thru a transitional *ȝ* to a modern *y*.

I. Uninflected forms. 1. Six forms with *g-* occur in three different monuments of the early century, namely, *giuer* in Trin. Hom. (once, 117, 8), *giuor* in MS. E of Curs. M. (2x viz. 19158; 19334), *giur* in *MS. E of Curs. M. (14x e.g. 19019; 19105; 19252, etc.), *giuwer* in Trin. Hom. (once, 71, 18), *giwer* in *Trin. Hom. (9x e.g. 65, 22; 79, 11; 113, 9, etc.) and *gur* in Gen. & Ex. (once, 2260).

2. Six uninflected forms with *ȝ* occur, namely, *ȝeuer* in *V. & V. (8x e. g. 45, 5; 69, 11; 79, 23, etc.), *ȝewer* in V. & V. (7x e. g. 5, 32; 135, 21; 139, 17, etc.), *ȝour* in MS. C of Horn (once, 871), Curs. M. (2x viz. 782; 784), R. Glouc. (2x viz. 2658; 4035) and Kil. Poems 2x viz. 8, 73-74), *ȝowr* in Nor. Leg. II (once, 2, 322), *ȝuer* in V. & V. (once, 7, 22) and *ȝur* in *Kil. Poems (27x e. g. 1, 19; 8, 37; 8, 99, etc.).

3. The forms with initial *y* (*yh*) which occur in the second half of the century are: *your* in *Psalter (14x e. g. 4, 5; 23, 7; 80, 4, etc.), B. & S. II (once, 405), *Curs. M. (112x e. g. 1996; 2899; 4881; 6138, etc.) and in MS. E of Curs. M. (2x viz. 22648; 23707), *yhour* in Psalter (once, 113b, 14), *yor* in MS. E of Curs. M. (once, 23082) and *yur* in Curs. M. (63x e. g. 5875; 13219; 15262, 15411, etc.).

4. Once, in Nor. Leg. II, Horstmann prints the form *zow*[*r*] which, like the nom. *ze*, contains a perplexing *z* (34, 187 And I sall gif zow for *zow*[*r*] dede Full riche giftes untill zowre mede).

II. Inflected forms. 1. The only inflected forms representing the earlier or *g*-stage are *giure* in Trin. Hom. (2x viz. 115, 18; 203, 23)

and *gure* in Trin. Hom. (3x viz. 5, 19; 17, 8 twice) and in *Gen. & Ex. (11x e. g. 404; 2352; 3817, etc.).

2. The most common inflected form with transitional ȝ is *ȝoure*, found in *Laȝ. B (37x e. g. 4413; 19175; 19539, etc.), *Prov. of Hend. MS. C (once, 46, 2), Nor. Leg. I (4x viz. 2, 109; 2, 418 twice; 2, 628), Nor. Leg. II (10x e. g. 2, 51; 7, 398; 10, 37, etc.), Horn MS. C (once, 870 Al þis lond beo *ȝoure*), *R. Glouc. (47x e. g. 2201; 2444; 8174; 9339, etc.), *Jos. (13x e. g. 343; 378; 465, etc.) and Kil. Poems (once, 3, I, 35). Next in frequency is *ȝure*, used in *Orm. (43x e. g. 254; 945; 1117; 2911, etc.), V. & V. (3x viz. 11, 6; 19, 16; 61, 29), Prov. of A. text K-W (4x viz. 15; 28; 33; 42[61]), Laȝ. B (once, 27217) and Kil. Poems (8x e. g. 5, 163; 7, 185; 8, 45, etc.). Other forms occurring in single pieces only are *ȝeuere* in V. & V. (once, 79, 23), *ȝeure* in V. & V. (14x e. g. 21, 23; 41, 29; 69, 23, etc.), *ȝewere* in V. & V. (2x viz. 45, 6; 51, 26), *ȝowre* in Nor. Leg. II (10x e. g. 1, 39; 6, 115; 7, 235, etc.), and *ȝyure* in MS. L of Horn (once, 872).

3. The later or *y*-forms of the inflected gen-poss. plur. are *youre* in Psalter (4x viz. 33, 6; 47, 14; 57, 3 . 10), Nor. Leg. II (2x viz. 1, 360; 7, 232) and Hav. (5x viz. 1416; 2067; 2211; 2248; 2801), *yhoure* in Psalter (once, 68, 33), *yowre* in Nor. Leg. II (3x viz. 1, 396; 7, 142; 7, 365) and *yure* in *Kent. Serm. (4x viz. 28, 22 twice; 32, 4; 35, 11) and in Hav. (once, 171).

4. Three peculiar forms are printed in two different monuments, namely, *woure* in Laȝ. B (once, 26541[62]), *zoure* in Nor. Leg. II (5x e. g. 35, 801; 35, 968; 35, 1032) and *zowre* in *Nor. Leg. II (28x e. g. 19, 251; 22, 331; 23, 126, etc.).

C. The possessive absolute ending in -s. Three forms occur, all with initial *y-*: *yours* in Curs. M. (2x viz. 5058 Mi fader coth he fars well i watte, Knauing of *yours* haue i nan; 17340 And als yee said it sal i wene On yow and *yours* bath be sene), *yurs* also in Curs. M. (2x viz. 2068; 15409) and *youres* in Hav. (3x viz. 2798 Leuedi, Kristes ore And *youres*; 2800-01 For England auhte for to ben *youres*, and we youre men and *youres*[63]).

Of the monuments and collections having the forms with initial vowel all are of the first half of the century, probably, except So. Leg., R. Glouc. and Harl. 2253; those forms with initial *g-* all occur in Trin. Hom., Gen. & Ex. and MS. E of Curs. M., before or rather close to 1250

[61] According to Skeat's collation; Morris prints *gure* (3x).

[62] The A-text has *unker*.

[63] Skeat drops from his text the last two words.

A. D.; those with a transitional *ȝ-* are scattered thruout the century from V. & V. to Kil. Poems; finally, the forms with modern *y-* occur after the middle of the century and largely in northern monuments.

The uninflected and inflected or *-e*-forms are quite evenly divided thruout the century. Only the uninflected forms occur in Kath., Jul., Ass. and Curs. M., of the more important monuments, while, on the other hand, only the inflected forms are used in Orm., R. Poems of C & J, Prov. of A., Kent. Serm., Digby 86, Nor. Leg. II (except *ȝowr* once, and *ȝow*[*r*]), Hav. and Jos.

Some idea is gained of the unsettled state of the gen-poss. plur. form of the pronoun of address by noting that of the larger pieces only 7 are content with a single form; on the other hand La*ȝ*. A has 14 (La*ȝ*. B but 4), Nor. Leg. II, 8, Ancren R., 7, V. & V., 7, Lamb. and Trin. Hom., each 6, So. Leg. 5, R. Poems of C & J (2 MSS.), O. & N. (2 MSS.), Psalter and Kil. Poems, each 4, while the rest have at least 2 or 3 forms, each.

XI. DATIVE-ACCUSATIVE PLURAL.

The dat-acc. plur. forms, 49 in number, may be divided in much the same way as the gen-poss. plur. The older forms with initial vowel persist thruout the century, but gradually yield to forms with an initial consonant which is written successively *g, ȝ, y*.

A. Forms with initial vowels. 1. The most important are *eow* in *B. Rule (7x), MS. T of P. Mor. (3x), Exp. Pat. Nos. (once), Lamb. Hom. (15x), Trin. Hom. (4x) and *La*ȝ*. A (46x), *eou* in B. Rule (once), *Lamb. Hom. (24x), La*ȝ*. A (36x), R. Poems of C (2x) and So. Leg. (44x), *eu* in P. Mor. MS. J (3x), Trin. Hom. (3x viz. 17, 27; 19, 10; 21, 11), V. & V. (2x viz. 59, 23; 71, 28), MS. J of Prov. of A. (once, 214), O. & N. MS. C (once, 1793), *O. & N. MS. J (8x), *R. Poems of J (32x) and So. Leg. (once, 66, 208), *ou*, most popular of all, in Lamb. Hom. (5x), Trin. Hom. (2x), *Ancren R. (230x), *Meidan M. (4x), La*ȝ*. A (2x viz. 725; 1519), La*ȝ*. B (24x), R. Poems of C (2x), Prov. of A. MS. J (once), O. & N. MS. J (once), R. Poems of J (once), *Digby 86 (10x), *Siriz (2x), *Digby Psalter (3x), *Vox (3x), So. Leg. (44x), *Harl. 2253 (15x), etc., and *ow* in Lamb. Hom. (4x), Trin. Hom. (once, 17, 8), *Kath. (21x), *Marh. (4x), *Jul. (9x), *S. Warde (11x), *Hali M. (2x), R. Poems of C (2x viz. 22, 70-71), O. & N. MS. C (6x) and R. Glouc. (once, 4829).

2. Less common variants of the above forms are *eo* in La*ȝ*. A (3x viz. 13486; 26514-15), *eov* in *So. Leg. (116x), *ev* in R. Poems of J

(once, 1, 650), *ew* in Trin. Hom. (3x viz. 17, 8; 33, 1; 217, 28), *ov* in O. & N. MS. C (2x viz. 114; 115) and in So. Leg. (45x e. g. 10, 140; 27, 523; 35, 612, etc.); and the forms with initial *h*, viz. *heou* in Lamb. Hom. (once, 39, 32), *heow* in Lamb. Hom. (2x viz. 13, 31; 49, 2), *hou* in Digby 86 (once, 35, 10), in La3. B (2x viz. 7905; 9009) and in MS. D of B. & S. I (once, 36, 3) and *how* in Lamb. Hom. (once, 53, 28).

3. Miscellaneous forms. Two are orthographic, probably, as they vary from the ordinary forms merely in having a final *-e*; they are *eowe* in La3. A (13232) and *owe*[64] in R. Glouc. (once, 10291 ȝe mowe me makie suerie wat *owe* wille be). The other three, either representing dialectal pronunciations or scribal errors, are *œu* in La3. A (once, 4556), *ewȝ* in V. & V. (once, 41, 32) and *oeu* in La3. A (once, 745).

B. Forms with initial consonant g, ȝ, y. 1. Only 3 forms with initial *g* occur, namely, *geu* in Trin. Hom. (once, 17, 2), *giu* in *Trin. Hom. (21x) and *MS. E of Curs. M. (23x) and *gu* in *Gen. & Ex. (26x).

2. Of the 13 forms with transitional *ȝ* the most common are *ȝou* in *La3. B (47x e. g. 915; 5460; 19334, etc.), *Fl. & Bl. (once), *Ass. (4x), Nor. Leg. I (4x viz. 1, 184 . 308 . 370; 2, 217), So. Leg. (once, 56, 198), *Horn (6x), *R. Glouc. (36x e. g. 1632; 2201; 2445, etc.), *Jos. (13x) and Kil. Poems (21x), *ȝow* in *Nor. Leg. I (11x e. g. 1, 98; 1, 183; 2, 419, etc.), *Nor. Leg. II (38x e. g. 1, 137; 2, 156; 3, 126, etc.) and R. Glouc. (2x viz. 215; 428), *ȝu* in *Woh. (once, 285, 6) and in Prov. of A. text K-W (2x viz. 29; 214[65]) and *ȝew* in V. & V. (13x e. g. 15, 9; 21, 17; 27, 31, etc.) and *Proc. (2x). Forms less common are *ȝeou* in So. Leg. (once, 66, 9), *ȝeov* in So. Leg. (2x viz. 46, 497; 66, 545), *ȝeow* in La3. A (once, 5453), *ȝeu* in *V. & V. (24x), *ȝiu* in Trin. Hom. (9x e. g. 187, 29; 193, 24; 195, 14, etc.), *ȝo* in MS. M of P. Mor. (4x viz. 147; 149; 209; 214), *ȝowe* in Nor. Leg. I (2x viz. 1, 84; 1, 339) and *ȝuw* in Orm. (169x).

3. There are 9 variations of the form with initial *y* (*yh*), namely, *you* in Psalter (4x viz. 4, 5; 33, 12; 117, 26[66]; 126, 2), Horn MS. L (once, 3), *Hav. (26x) and Curs. M. (13x e. g. 9298; 11866; 12094, etc.), *yow* in Nor. Leg. II (7x e. g. 6, 116; 7, 488; 16, 319, etc.), Hav. (once, 160) and in *Curs. M. (342x), *yhou* in Psalter (5x viz. 113b, 14 . 114; 118, 115; 128, 8; 135, 3), *yhow* in Nor. Leg. II (once, 16, 667), *youu* in Curs. M. (6x viz. 13047; 13481; 14648; 15445; 15447;

[64] Probably a mistake for *ower*.

[65] According to Skeat's collation; Morris prints *gu*.

[66] According to Wende's collation; Stevenson prints *þou* for MS. C and *ȝhou* for MS. H.

22086), *yov* in Curs. M. MS. E (once, 22714), *yu* in Kent. Serm. (2x viz. 29, 17; 33, 27) and in Curs. M. (once, 12095), *yuu* in Curs. M. (10x e. g. 20248; 20256; 20422, etc.[67]) and *yw* in Kent. Serm. (2x viz. 32, 19; 35, 10) and in Hav. (once, 453).

4. Miscellaneous forms. In Nor. Leg. II occur three forms with printed initial *z*, namely, *zo* (2x viz. 23, 17; 24, 203), *zou* (once, 23, 354) and *zow* in *Nor. Leg. II (62x e. g. 19, 209; 21, 114; 23, 109, etc.). Two forms occur in the Psalter which are probably due to scribal carelessness, *þou* (once, 128, 8 Blisse of laverd *þou* to mede = Benedictio Domini super vos) and *yhe* (once, 65, 16 Comes and heres, and I sal telle al *yhe* þat dredes God, what to mi saule dide he); Laȝ. B has *wou* (once, 26542[68]).

No forms with initial *g* occur later than Curs. M. MS. E, while the earliest *y*-forms occur in Kent. Serm. and the rest are for the most part in Northern monuments. The forms with initial vowel persist in the South and West, while the consonant forms are found in Kentish MSS. and in the Northern monuments, chiefly. Of the monuments containing only forms with initial vowels the most notable are Lamb. and Trin. Hom., V. & V., alliterative saints' lives and homilies, Ancren R., Laȝ. A (except *ȝeow* once), all pieces of the Jesus Coll. MS. (O. & N., etc.), all pieces of MS. Digby 86 and of Harl. 2253. The chief monuments having only forms with initial *g*, *ȝ* or *y* are Orm., Gen. & Ex., Prov. of A. text K-W, Best., Kent. Serm., Ass., Psalter, Nor. Leg. II, Horn. Hav., Curs. M. and Kil. Poems, mostly Kentish, Midland or Northern pieces.[69]

While more monuments are content with a single form of the dat-acc. plur. than of the gen-poss. (cf. Orm., alliterative saints and homilies, Ancren R., Gen. & Ex., Best., Harl. 2253, etc.), yet some show a goodly number of forms, particularly Trin. Hom., Laȝ. A and So. Leg., each with 8 forms, Lamb. Hom. and Curs. M., each with 7, Nor. Leg. II with 6, R. Glouc. with 5, etc.

If as Diehn[70] believes, following the lead of Sweet, Morsbach and others, the initial consonant *g*, *ȝ* or *y* is a development of the earlier *eo*, it must have had a precarious existence for the first hundred years, since the vowel-beginning form showed such persistence as we have noted above. The fact that the dual also developed a *g* or *ȝ*, generally before *u*,

[67] Occurs only between lines 15330 and 20463 except once viz. in l. 7971.

[68] Laȝ. A has the dual *inc.*

[69] In one piece, Ass., the gen-poss. plur. is always *ower* and the dat-acc. always *ȝou*.

[70] Diehn, Die Pronomina im Frühmittelenglischen, p. 35.

makes it seem probable that both dual and plural were strongly influenced by their nominative forms and that while the dual disappeared at an early date, this influence kept at work on the oblique cases of the plural until the forms with initial vowels were crowded out. Still the fact cannot be ignored that in certain forms such as *ȝeow, ȝeov, ȝeou, ȝeu, ȝiu,* etc., the initial consonant may be explained as the result of an extremely palatal initial vowel. The most probable explanation is that the new forms of the oblique cases are due to analogy with the nominative and the phonetic possibilities inherent in the *eo.*

XII. INTENSIVE-REFLEXIVE PLURAL FORMS.

The 34 forms of the intens-reflex. plur. show the variations both of the intens-reflex. sing. and of the dat-acc. plur. The three combinations appear in succession, i. e., nom. with intensive *self,* dat-acc. with *self,* and finally gen-poss.; likewise the three inflectional grades are present in the plur. forms; and finally, the development of the initial *g, ȝ, y,* is to be traced just as in the simple dat-acc. plur. The conclusions reached cannot be quite as sure for the plural, however, as for the singular, because the number of occurrences is not nearly as great.

A. The older combination of nom. plur. and the intensive is found in the uninflected forms *ȝe seolf* in Laȝ. A (once, 15051 hælde̊ *ȝe seolf* eowre lond) and the later *yee-self* in Curs. M. (2x viz. 6096; 14691) and in the inflected or *-en* (*-in*) forms *ge seluin* in MS. E of Curs. M. (once, 19094), *ȝee-seluen* in Curs. M. MS. C (once, 780) and *yee-seluen,* also in Curs. M. MS. C (2x viz. 6786; 19094).

B. The combination of dat-acc. plur. with *self* prevails thruout the century; it appears in 26 variant forms, with the three inflectional grades of *self* and the four stages of development of the first element.

I. Uninflected forms. 1. In the early stage of development are *eov-seolf* in So. Leg. (once, 47, 357), *eov-sulf* also in So. Leg. (once, 21, 38), *ou self* in Digby 86 (once, 38, 318) and Harl. 2253 (once, W 5, 60), *ou sulf* in Ancren R. (6x viz. 22, 21; 46, 9; 92, 22; 106, 6; 186, 28; 226, 19) and *ow seolf* in Marh. (once, 54b, 10) and Jul. MS. B (once, 18, 1).

2. The later stage of development is seen in the forms *you-self* in Hav. (once, 2425), *yu-self,* also in Hav. (once, 2595 helpes me and *yu-self*) and *yow-self* in Curs. M. (2x viz. 16653; 28026).

II. Forms inflected with *-e.* 1. The earlier stage is represented by *eow selfe* in Lamb. Hom. (once, 15, 2), *eu seolue* in R. Poems of J (2x viz. 1, 398; 3, 299) and *ou selue* in Harl. 2253 (once, G 17, 2).

2. Two forms with the transitional ȝ- occur, namely *ȝou seolue* in Laȝ. B (once, 12514) and *ȝou selue* in MS. C of Horn (once, 364).

III. Forms inflected with *-en* (*-an*). 1. The earlier Southern monuments contain 8 forms as follows: *eou-seolfan* in Lamb. Hom. (once, 13, 33), *eou-seluen* in Lamb. Hom. (once, 35, 20), *eow seluen* in Lamb. Hom. (once, 35, 21) and Laȝ. A (once, 5802), *eow seoluen* in Laȝ. A (once, 12514), *ou seluen* in Digby 86 (once, 35, 8), *ou suluen* in Ancren R. (8x e. g. 98, 10; 186, 2; 188, 24; 422, 1, etc.), *ow seluen* in MS. C of Kath. (2x viz. 1291; 2353) and *ow seoluen* in Kath. (2x viz. 1291; 2353), Marh. (once, 18, 26) and in MS. R of Jul. (once, 18, 1).

2. One form with initial *g-*, *giu seluen,* occurs in Trin. Hom. (once, 115, 19).

3. The four forms with initial ȝ- are equally early; they are *ȝew seluen,* found in V. & V. (2x viz. 123, 5 . 8), *ȝeu seluen* in V. & V. (5x viz. 53, 33; 79, 21; 95, 28; 93, 23; 123, 5), *ȝiu seluen* in Trin. Hom. (once, 195, 4) and *ȝuw sellfenn* in Orm. (2x viz. 949; 17952).

C. The intens-reflex. plur. formed with a gen-poss. appears as *ȝowre-self* in Nor. Leg. II (once, 2, 157), *zoure-self* in Nor. Leg. II (once, 35, 462) and *your-self* in Curs. M. (2x viz. 26367; 26370).

No one form occurs often enough that it could be said to prevail in any period or dialect or even monument. On the whole the uninflected forms are preferred in the later pieces, and especially in the North. The Kentish, Midland and Northern monuments have only the forms with initial *g*, ȝ or *y* while the Southern pieces cling to the older vowel-beginning forms, with variant forms of *self* according as they use *e, eo,* or *u.*

A general summary of all the numbers and cases of the pronoun of address for the 63 monuments covering a period of approximately two hundred years shows the rather amazing total of 320 different forms. About a sixth of these may be disregarded as representing either scribal vagaries or errors in transcription or printing. Those forms which then remain can be almost equally divided into three great classes comprising those common at certain times, those presenting dialectal peculiarities of pronunciation and those which are mere orthographic variants of the more common forms.

SECTION III. SYNTAX.

I. NOMINATIVE SINGULAR AND PLURAL.[71]

1. The pronoun is used as subject before a declarative verb in about 74% of all occurrences in the period represented by pieces 1-32, approximately the first half of the century, and about 62% in Nos. 33-63. For the first period see especially Lamb. Hom. (122x out of 158), Orm. (428x out of 647), V. & V. (397x out of 471), Ancren R. (247x out of 348), Laȝ. (546x out of 705), O. & N. (251x out of 302) and Fl. & Bl. (41x out of 49); for the second period see Digby 86 (53x out of 81), Psalter (306x out of 571), Nor. Leg. II (527x out of 764), So. Leg. (956x out of 1245), Curs. M. (974x out of 1696), R. Glouc. (172x out of 206) and Harl. 2253 (128x out of 211).

2. In certain monuments there is a marked tendency to place a complement or modifier, usually the object or adverbial modifier, between subject and verb. See especially Lamb. Hom., Orm., Prayers & Hymns (4x e. g. 191, 9 Vor *þu* me hauest iholpen; 193, 34, etc.), Woh. (8x e. g. 271, 19 bute *þu* swete ihesu for me ȝef þe seluen; 275, 15, etc.), Laȝ. (26x e. g. 4355 and seoððen *þu* hine slowe; 7374; 8158, etc.), R. Poems of J (9x e. g. 1, 111 *þu* hit seyst; 1, 333; 3, 334, etc.), Psalter (9x e. g. 22, 4 For *þou* with me ert; 30, 9, etc.), So. Leg. (19x e. g. 10, 367 For *þou* me hast þat lime bi-nome; 10, 501; 15, 335, etc.) and Curs. M. (16x e. g. 17075 Maria meke, *þou* moder es; 20626; 17197, etc.). For the first period these examples of intervention constitute about 3% of all occurrences of subj. bef. declar. verb, while in the second period they are less than 2% of the total. It is to be noted however that the examples above listed all occur in principal propositions.

3. Bordering closely upon the above group and in many instances with practically no line of demarcation except the somewhat arbitrary acceptation of the fact that they occur in subordinate clauses, are to be found a large number of examples of transposition where the verb is placed later in the clause than normally occurs. It is possible to classify most cases of transposition as partial or complete, according as the verb is thrown somewhat nearer to the end of the subordinate clause (oft-

[71] Since sing. and plur. do not differ much in use, figures are given for the sing. only.

times, no doubt, on account of the intervention of complement or modifier even more than because the clause is subordinate) or according as the verb is thrown to the very end with auxiliary and participle or infinitive reversed. For examples of partial transposition see Curs. M. (1707 Quen *þou* þi timber wel has laid) or R. Glouc. (4004 þe gret despit . . . þat *þou* hom misdest ylome), for complete transposition, V. & V. (63, 25 Gif ðu ðese godes ȝiue biȝeten miht). Complete transposition is most common in the earliest monuments under consideration and falls into disuse with the later writers except in cases where sentences are most unnaturally arranged in order to reproduce the Latin or give the required verse form. For the first half of the century all forms of transposition constitute about 19% of the total of examples where the subj. precedes a declar. verb; for the second half of the century they are less than 12% of the total. For the first period the proportion of transposed verbs to the total number of occurrences where the declar. verb follows the sing. pronoun of address is as follows in the more important monuments: B. Rule (6 to 28 e. g. 5, 14; 117, 10, etc.), Lamb. Hom. (23 to 122 e. g. 15, 23; 17, 14, etc.), Orm. (112 to 428 e. g. 855 tatt child, tatt *tu* streonenn shallt; 1246; 1496, etc.), Marh. (18 to 87), Ancren R. (30 to 247 e. g. 108, 25; 304, 13, etc.), Laȝ. (123 to 546 e. g. 4360; 8353 ȝif *þu* þis writ iheren wult; 9847, etc.), Prov. of A. (19 to 47), O. & N. (13 to 251), Fl. & Bl. (3 to 41) and Comp. Mar. (0 to 7); for the second period: Digby 86 (4 to 53 e. g. 33, 110; 35, 74, etc.), H. H. (3 to 52), Psalter (5 to 306 e. g. 50, 6 when *þou* demed is; 70, 3; 103, 8, etc.), Nor. Leg. II (57 to 527 e. g. 3, 95; 10, 267; 19, 205, etc.), So. Leg. (114 to 956 e. g. 10, 60; 10, 502; 15, 145, etc.), Curs. M. (150 to 974 e. g. 974 if *þou* it bid; 1686; 1707), R. Glouc. (25 to 172 e. g. 942; 2474; 3994, etc.) and Harl. 2253 (8 to 128 e. g. W 3, 16 er *þou* me slo; 11, 11; 12, 14, etc.).

When the subordinating conjunction is omitted the verb may be retained in normal position right after its subj. or transposed, as the writer chooses. Cf. Curs. M. (8635 Yeild me mi child *þou* fra me stall).

All thru the century the number of cases where transposition does not take place in subordinate clauses exceeds the examples of transposition, giving additional evidence that the practice of placing the verb last was more a convenience to writers of verse than a grammatical obligation. It is unfortunate that there is available for the century so little prose since the language of many if not most of the poetical monuments shows so many instances of an unnatural word order.

4. There are at least four types of sentences in which the pronominal

subject follows a declar. verb. In the most common one a complement or adverbial modifier is placed first for emphasis (Hav. 1127 To-morwe sholen *ye* ben weddet); another quite common type omits the connective *if* and shows that the clause is conditional by the inversion of subj. and verb (Curs. M. 14296 Had *þou* sco said ben her mit vs. Had noght mi broþer deied þus); a rarer type of inversion appears to have no definite grammatical reason unless it be that *ne* is understood (Curs. M. 12036 Sal *þou* neuer cum sund to tun); and finally, thru confusion with the form of the direct question, the indirect occasionally has inverted subj. and verb. (Curs. M. 7292 sais me quartill Hav *yee* me fatt? quat es your will?[72])

Only about 7% of all pronominal subjects of the 2nd pers. sing. are thus used after declar. verbs bef. 1250 A. D., and about 11% in the second half of the century. The most abundant use of this inversion occurs, for the first period in Lamb. Hom. (10x with inversion to 122 without e. g. 7, 24 þenne gest *þu* forð; 39, 20, etc.), Orm. (94x to 428 viz. inversion after *þa* 41x,[73] after other adverbs 44x, after complements 9x e. g. 1586 þa lakesst *tu*; 4194; 5174, etc.), V. & V. (27x to 377 e. g. 23, 15; 25, 2; 39, 8, etc.), Ancren R. (18x to 247 e. g. 118, 26; 136, 6; 228, 25, etc.), Laȝ. (39x to 549 e. g. 2294; 3083; 9111, etc.), Gen. & Ex. (5x to 54 e. g. 1570; 1762; 1813, etc.) and R. Poems of J (12x to 110 e. g. 1, 287; 6, 9; 10, 96, etc.); for the period after 1250 A. D. it occurs in Siriz (9x to 46 e. g. 118; 268; 279, etc.), B. & S. I (9x to 30 e. g. 4, 4; 8, 4; 12, 3, etc.), H. H. (17x to 52 e. g. 96; 118; 194, etc.), Psalter (143x to 306[74] e. g. 3, 4 mi fanger art *þou*; 5, 13; 7, 10; 9, 35, etc.), Nor. Leg. II (112x to 527 e. g. 1, 52; 3, 64; 9, 79, etc.), So. Leg. (34x to 956 e. g. 10, 365; 15, 277; 25, 88, etc.), Curs. M. (227x to 974 e. g. 14256; 16365; 16725, etc.), R. Glouc. (only 3x to 172 viz. 2473; 4202; 10456), Kil. Poems (13x to 95 e. g. 1, 71; 1, 132; 2a, 40, etc.) and Harl. 2253 (18x to 128 e. g. P 1, 48; 5, 94; W 11, 19, etc.). No examples of this inversion of pron. subj. and declar. verb are to be found in B. Rule, Eg. Hymns, Kent. Serm., Hymns of CCCO., Eust., Jos. or Dream-Book or in some minor pieces.

5. The examples of the pronoun used as subj. after interrogative

[72] Probably some of these are only made to seem indirect questions thru wrong punctuation on the part of the editor.

[73] The very frequent occurrence of such constructions gives an idea of the relative poverty and monotony of Orm's vocabulary and general style.

[74] This inversion of subj. and verb is a very noticeable feature of the style of the Psalter.

verbs aggregate for the first period about 5% and for the second, 8%. Cf. Orm. (11x e. g. 5220 Whatt willt *tu*; 8941; 10283, etc.), Ancren R. (39x e. g. 16, 27 wenest *tu*; 146, 20; 186, 21, etc.), Laȝ. (40x e. g. 3804; 4322; 5015, etc.), O. & N. (29x e. g. 303 *Wenestu*; 563; 711, etc.), Vox (12x e. g. 130; 186; 232, etc.), Psalter (30x e. g. 12, 1; 21, 2; 42, 5, etc.), So. Leg. (128x), Curs. M. (151x), R. Glouc. (18x), Harl. 2253 (6x), etc., etc. Once only the subject precedes a verb in what is apparently a question (Kil. Poems 3, II, 21 Mid whate *þou* art ischrud aboute?).

6. The use of the pronoun with imperative verbs is much more common than in modern usage. About 2% of all nom. singulars are used bef. impv. verbs and about 9½% after, in the first period; in the later period the ratio shifts to 8½% before and 6% after. In the more important monuments the pronominal subj. of the impv. verb occurs as follows: in Orm. (bef. verb no x; after verb 113x, with *witt* 103x[75] e. g. 2239 Acc witt *tu* wel; 2592, etc., and with other impv. verbs 10x e. g. 2205; 2317, etc.), V. & V. (bef. 3x e. g. 13, 19 *ðu* hine blesci; 89, 16, etc. and after 42x e. g. 25, 1; 27, 16, etc.), Ancren R. (bef. 11x and after 24x), Laȝ. (bef. 13x and after 63x), O. & N. (bef. 5x e. g. 297 uorþ *þu* go; 555; 599, etc. and after no x), R. Poems of J (bef. 3x and after 8x), Hymns of CCCO. (bef. 8x and after 4x), Digby 86 (bef. 15x e. g. 35, 39; 35, 66; 37, 14, etc. and after 5x e. g. 33, 117; 35, 61; 75, 3, etc.), Psalter (bef. 16x e. g. 16, 13 Fra wicked *þou* outake saule mine; 21, 20; 24, 5, etc. and after 70x e. g. 4, 2; 9, 33; 16, 8, etc.), Nor. Leg. II (bef. 30x and after 33x), So. Leg. (bef. 32x and after 64x), Curs. M. (bef. 202x e. g. 1093; 1271; 1670, etc. and after 93x e. g. 654; 969; 2409, etc.), R. Glouc. (bef. 5x and after 3x), Kil. Poems (bef. 18x e. g. 1, 7; 1, 117; 5, 92, etc. and after 6x e. g. 1, 125; 5, 109, etc.) and Harl. 2253 (bef. 45x and after 10x). The pronoun is never used bef. impv. verb in B. Rule, P. Mor., Lamb. Hom., Trin. Hom., Orm., S. Warde, Hali M., Kent. Serm., Comp. Mar., Siriz, Prov. of Hend., B. & S. II and Dream-Book.

The impv. verb is used without an expressed pronominal subj. very frequently; indeed for the entire period there are about one-third as many instances of omission of nom. sing. in impv. constructions as there are nom. sing. pronouns altogether.[76]

7. Two types of pronominal construction, occurring with equal fre-

[75] More evidence of Orm's poverty of expression!

[76] In counting cases where the pronominal subj. is understood, only one verb in each line or verse has been counted.

quency, have been taken together as vocative altho one might in many instances be considered merely a loose appositive to the subject. The first is found in vocative phrases usually of respect, affection, etc., or of disparagement (Curs. M. 16643 *Yee* foles mistruand folk); in the other case the pronoun is usually followed by *and* and a substantive, the two explaining the subject of the verb (Curs. M. 6134 Gas he said vte o mi kyth, *yee* and all your folk yow wit). Sometimes the pronoun used as a vocative is itself made explanatory by means of a relative clause (Curs. M. 24386 *þou* þat o soru ne wist noght are). For the first period these vocatives form about 1½% of the whole number of nom. singulars, for the second period about 2%. See especially Lamb. Hom. (3x viz. 113, 28 *þu* ure feder þe ert on heuene; 123, 20 twice), V. & V. (11x e. g. 9, 28 *ðu* lease dieuel; 17, 17; 41, 14, etc.), Ancren R. (9x e. g. 102, 16; 114, 15; 288, 19, etc.), Laȝ. (4x e. g. 13153; 22189; 28724, etc.), O. & N. (4x e. g. 556; 1111, 1335, etc.), Psalter (6x e. g. 6, 4; 24, 7; 39, 12, etc.), Nor. Leg. II (8x e. g. 2, 239; *þou* Emperoure; 4, 227; 14, 326, etc.), So. Leg. (31x e. g. 10, 365; 15, 364; 29, 23, etc.), Curs. M. (49x e. g. 2077 *þou* wared thing; 2361; 3978, etc.), R. Glouc. (5x e. g. 802; 2721; 4187, etc.) and Harl. 2253 (4x viz. P 5, 121 Alas, *þou* seli fraunce; W 11, 9 . 17; P 5, 113).

8. The use of the nom. sing. or plur. as subjective complement is surprisingly rare. A great many questions occur, such as 'What art þu?' where the pron. occupies the place of subj. compl. but is really the subj.; a few sentences are to be found where the pron. is probably subj. altho the meaning might admit of the other construction; but only one instance has been noted which can be unquestionably subj. compl., in Nor. Leg. II (32, 120 Sen he sais it es noght *þou*).

9. The omission of the pronominal subj. of declarative and interrogative verbs occurs occasionally. Cf. Trin. Hom. (29, 23 Nu shalt [*þu* hatien] þo þe iuel hauen don), V. & V. (77, 13 ȝif ðu ȝifst ðo manne ðe gaf ðe, oðer ðe [ðu] wost ðat wile ȝiuen ðe), Kath. (360 *Cleopest* þeo þinges godes?) and Kil. Poems (12, 18 Wiþ sorow þou com into þis world, wiþ sorow *ssalt* wend awai; 5, 75 Tel me, boi, what hast ido?; 5, 93 What hast ido, bel amy?; 5, 109; 2b, 163). No effort has been made to collect all passages where such omission seems to have occurred because without exact punctuation in the MSS. it is often impossible to decide whether the writer intended that the verb should stand in a new sentence, alone, or be one of a series of verbs belonging to a previously expressed subject. The type of literature of the period dealt with is not popular enough in its nature to furnish many examples such as

those quoted from Kil. Poems and cases like the first passages quoted are generally regarded by editors as due to scribal omissions.

II. GENITIVE-POSSESSIVE SINGULAR.

In tracing the syntactical progress of the gen-poss. sing. it will be convenient to divide the period, as was done in Section II, into the smaller periods represented, roughly, by Nos. 1-23, 24-45 and 46-63.

1. In the first of these periods the form ending with *-n* (*þin*, etc.) modifies plur. nouns only 15x out of about 634 instances. Cf. Marh. (2x viz. 11, 33 wiδ *þin* eadi beoden; 21, 2), Jul. (3x viz. 42, 15 [B has þine]; 74, 16; 76, 1 [B has þat]), Ancren R. (5x e. g. 56, 19 *þin* eien; 106, 21; 108, 15, etc.), Laȝ. (2x viz. 18133; 24781), R. Poems of C & J (2x viz. 20, 42 [J has þine]; 23, 164), Gen. & Ex. (once, 2781). In the second period this form modifies plur. nouns 9x out of 97 instances. Cf. O. & N. (2x viz. 75 *þin* eȝene; 990 *þin* eȝe), Digby 86 (2x viz. 37, 23 twice), Siriz (2x viz. 281 *þin* eien; 283), B. & S. I (once, 10, 1 þorou *þin* heuele redes) and G. G. (2x viz. 2, 30 with *þin* eyen; 4, 28). In the third period a plur. noun is modified 66x out of 392 instances. Such use of this form occurs in 8 monuments, namely, Psalter (6x e. g. 19, 7; 20, 9; 89, 4, etc.), Horn MS. L (once, 1296 In *þyn* armes), Hav. (2x viz. 1273 wit *þin* eyne; 2069 with *þin* hend), Curs. M. (38x e. g. 19813 *þin* orisuns and *þin* almus; 20963; 25430, etc.), R. Glouc. (6x e. g. 728; 2223 *þin* elderne; 2546, etc.), Kil. Poems (4x viz. 2a, 140 *þin* eiine; 2a, 17 . 18; 12, 4), Harl. 2253 (6x e. g. G 4, 30; G 9, 5; P 5, 114, etc.) and Dream-Book (once, 133 *þin* shon beþ olde).

When this increasing use of the *-n*-form with plur. nouns is viewed in the light of the facts brought forth in Section II [77] it becomes evident that it was used more and more for the sake of euphony and not merely as a modifier of the singular as was the case earlier.

2. The short form (*þi*, etc.) modifies plur. nouns during the first two periods only 3x out of about 754 instances, namely, in Exp. Pat. Nos. (once, 122 *þi* leoue hali engles), Fl. & Bl. (once, 361 And wel *þi* nedes for to do) and G. G. (once, 4, 46 *þi* sorwen). In the third period and in the Northern monuments particularly the short form mod. plur. nouns 267x out of a total of about 2415 instances. The pieces and collections in which these occur are Psalter (120x [78] e. g. 16, 7; 88, 22; 118, 77, etc.), Nor. Leg. I (once, 2, 246 *þi* gude praiers), Nor. Leg. II (53x e. g. 10, 77

[77] See page 31 ff.

[78] The great majority of these occur in the last 50 psalms.

þi maumettes; 28, 157; 3, 55, etc.), B. & S. II (15x e. g. 41 *þi* castles and *þi* toures; 44; 227, etc.), Horn MS. L (2x viz. 868; 940), Hav. (once, 1320), Curs. M. (61x e. g. 1710; 1925; 4605; 5267, etc.), Kil. Poems (8x e. g. 8, 2; 8, 16; 12, 32, etc.), Harl. 2253 (5x e. g. P 5, 116; G 8, 70; G 12, 57, etc.) and Dream-Book (once, 74 *þi* nexte frendes). This increased tendency to use the short form with plur. nouns can be explained for the Northern monuments by the fact that the final *-n* was largely dropped in their dialect, but in the other later pieces and collections it is plainly due to a tendency to generalize the short form.

3. The so-called inflected form is really such in the earlier monuments to a great extent; it is hard to say how often it really has an inflectional value later in the century because it is found at times in monuments where an inorganic *e* is added to various words where it has no historical right to be. In such monuments it is probable that it belongs often with the *-n*-forms. At any rate it is hardly correct to term the *-ne*-form, as some have done, the plural form, since it modifies sing. nouns in the first period 508x and plurals only 327x, in the second period sing. nouns 84x and plurals 75x, and in the third period singulars 257x and plurals 271x. In Nos. 1-22 its modification of plur. nouns exceeds that of the sing. in 12 pieces, namely, Exp. Pat. Nos. (once), Trin. Hom. (plur. 13x to sing. 5), Orm. (32x to 17), Kath. (12x to 2[79]), Marh. (17x to 3), Jul. (6x to 1), Hali M. (9x to 2), Woh. (9x to 2), Meidan M. (4x to 2), Prose Credo (once), R. Poems of C & J (14x to 4) and Gen. & Ex. (3x to none); in Nos. 24-45 the pieces and monuments are only 5 in which this is true, namely, Digby 86 (7x to 2), Eust. (3x to 1), Vox. (5x to 3), B. & S. I (25x to 5) and H. H. (9x to 1), all pieces contained in MS. Digby 86; in the last period the plur. nouns mod. by *þine* exceed the sing. in 8 monuments, namely, Psalter (122x to 81), Judas (once), B. & S. II (5x to none), Horn (9x to 8), Hav. (5x to none), Curs. M. (25x to 14), R. Glouc. (12x to 7) and Jos. (5x to 1).

Evidently, then, the use of the *-ne*-form (*þine*, etc.) is to be explained neither on the ground of inflection nor of syntax, but probably lies in the field of versification or else in some later monuments, as suggested above, it is bound up with the general problem of the use of an inorganic and perhaps silent *e*.

4. In the first period *þin*, or its variants, is absolute 29x viz. in Lamb. Hom. (once, 15, 24), V. & V. (once, 67, 8), Kath. (2x viz. 1845 twice),

[79] In these 2 cases (1341 we leaueð þi lahe and al *þine* bileaue; 2233 streche forð *þine* swire) the scribes of MSS. B and C have written *þi* as tho they felt *þine* to be a purely plur. form.

Marh. (2x viz. 7, 29 mi sawle schulde sinken al swa as *þin* schal; 10, 9), Jul. (2x viz. 10, 11 as mit *tin* ahne; 34, 19), Prayers & Hymns (7x e. g. 197, 130 Vor *þin* is þe wurchipe; 199, 157; 213, 15, etc.), Hali M. (once, 13, 10), Woh. (once, 271, 7 Al is *tin*), Ancren R. (6x e. g. 282, 27 ase of *þin* owune; 290, 26; 316, 15 Sire, Godes ore ant *tin*; 408, 11, etc.), Laȝ. (4x viz. 2995; 8875; 18133; 26370), R. Poems of C & J (once, 23, 164) and Gen. & Ex. (once, 3661), while *þine*, or its variants, is absolute but 7x viz. in Lamb. Hom. (2x viz. 39, 20 þenne bureȝest þu here saule and ec *þine* aȝene; 79, 12 ȝif þu mare spenest of *þine*), V. & V. (once, 83, 12), Hali M. (once, 47, 12 wiþ þe and wiþ *þine*), Ancren R. (2x viz. 38, 8; 180, 20) and Laȝ. (once, 9842).

In the second period *þin* is used absolutely 10x viz. in O. & N. (2x viz. 259; 319), Fl. & Bl. (4x viz. 4; 56; 380; 686), Siriz (3x viz. 269; 290; 385) and B. & S. I (once, 57, 2), while *þine* is so used only 3x, in O. & N. (2x viz. 624; 712 Betere is min on [craft] þan alle *þine*) and Fl. & Bl. (once, 352).

In the last period *þin* occurs as an absolute 35x, in So. Leg. (2x viz. 15, 348 þou berst more þane *þin* owe; 24, 38), Hav. (3x viz. 1128; 1228; 1789), Curs. M. (20x, alone 14x e. g. 15577 þe and *þin*; 5218; 6733, etc.—with *aun* 6x e. g. 8168 sir welcum to *þin* aun; 15045; 15075, etc.), R. Glouc. (5x viz. 699; 2063; 7390; 10283; 10789), Jos. (once, 218 ich am *þin*) and Harl. 2253 (4x viz. G 2, 41; 4, 26; W 11, 36; G 13, 11), while *þine* is absolute 41x, in Psalter (5x e. g. 73, 16; 88, 12; 118, 94), Nor. Leg. II (6x e. g. 2, 377 and *þine* it es; 14, 165; 33, 131, etc.), So. Leg. (5x e. g. 27, 981; 42, 36; 59, 249, etc.), Hav. (once, 619), Curs. M. (19x, with *auin* once, 2750—alone 18x e. g. 977; 1967; 2361; 2386, etc.), R. Glouc. (4x viz. 335; 1080; 10327; 10333) and Kil. Poems (once, 2a, 180).

There are three different uses of the absolute pronoun, of almost equal importance. In the first construction the pronoun becomes a substantive thru the omission of the noun which it modifies (Curs. M. 6733 If min ox slas *þin*). This substantivized pronominal adjective may be used in almost any noun construction, both *þin* and *þine* standing for sing. and plur. nouns alike. In the second construction the gen-poss. sing. is always used as a predicate adjective or subj. compl. (Harl. 2253 G 2, 41 tak al þat þin ys). In the third construction the gen-poss. is followed by *own* or *one*, the two together being substantivized as in the first construction or else used as predicate adj. as in the second. (Marh. 10, 9 for nabbich imi nowcin nanes cunes elne bute *þin ane*; Curs. M. 3091 I and mi wijf ar al *þin aun*).

5. The use of the gen-poss. sing. as a postpositive modifier is at no time popular during the thirteenth century. *þin* is so used 10x, in Hali M. (once, 29, 10 to goderheale *þin* he hit þoleð), Laȝ. (once, 18885 nu hit is iwille *þin*), Gen. & Ex. (once, 2282), Eust. (once, 146) and Curs. M. (6x e. g. 5822 in bosum *þin*; 8801; 13340; 15527, etc.); *þine* is postpositive 89x, namely, in Metr. Credo (once, 39 Lauerd Godd, in hondes *tine* = in manus tuas), in Laȝ. (once, 16039 of sorȝe *þine*), R. Poems of C & J (once, 20, 19 Mon let sunne and lustes *þine*), O. & N. (once, 964 ine nest *þine*), Best. (once, 209 sei ðu . . . to ðe prest sinnes *tine*), in Psalter (77x e. g. 2, 8 Right my wai in sight *þine*; 8, 2; 9, 2, etc.[80]), Curs. M. (6x e. g. 14337 wit angels *þine*; 19668; 20071, etc.) and in Kil. Poems (once, 2c, 15). There are very strong evidences of Latin influence in this construction, especially in Psalter and Curs. M.

6. A few examples occur in which the pronoun has the appearance of an ordinary poss. modifier but the context requires that it be read as an older genitive. *þin* is so used at least thrice in the first period, once in the second, and thrice in the third. Once in Jul. and twice in Hali M. it is necessary to take *þin* as a gen. in order to account for the form of *anes* which accompanies it (Jul. 32, 5 Habbich *þin* anes help; Hali M. 29, 5 Lutel þarf þe carien for *þin* anes liveneð; 29, 17 ant *tin* anes dale bruken); once in MS. H of H. H. *þyn one* is used adverbially (79 wenn þou bileuest al *þyn one*); twice in Hav. *þin* is governed by the French preposition *maugre* (1128; 1789); and once in Curs. M. there occurs a genitive absolute corresponding to the Greek construction (29430 Alsua if þou *þin vnwitand* Has laid, mai fall, on clerk þi hand).

7. The short form *þi* is used as an objective genitive 30x, usually with the noun *luue* or some similar verbal noun. Cf. S. Warde (once, 253, 19 ant euch her me rueð up of *þi* munegunge), Woh. (6x viz. 271, 9 for *þi* luue; 271, 10; 269, 25 þen in alle blisse beon and forgan *þi* sihðe; 275, 21; 279, 2; 285, 12), Meidan M. (once, 67), So. Leg. (2x viz. 9, 357 for *þi* loue; 64, 89), Horn (once, 589), Curs. M. (9x e. g. 15361 Or wat i qua *þi* traitur es þat sua þe luued has ai; 2037 In *þi* louing þou do me lend—the phrase *for þi luue* 7x e. g. 3844; 8392; 15534, etc.), R. Glouc. (5x viz. 6361 uor *þi* loue; 7023 þat ich ssolde *þi* traytour be; 7027; 10354; 6375) and Harl. 2253 (5x viz. W 11, 15 for *þi* loue; G 4, 11 . 17 . 24; W 11, 30). This objective genitive has usually given way in

[80] The large number of these postpositive modifiers in the Psalter will give some idea of the servile manner in which English word-order has been abused in order to reproduce the Latin Psalter.

the thirteenth century to the prepositional phrase *of þe* (Kil. Poems 4, 32 For loue *of þe*).

8. A reinforced or double possessive of the 2nd pers. sing. has been found just once, in Nor. Leg. II (21, 150 þe tresore of *þine* þat I had Ilkadele it es despe[n]).

9. The syntax of the older forms of the possessive pronoun is, as a rule, according to O. E. usage. Here and there, however, a form is misused. Perhaps the surprising thing is that so large a per cent of the O. E. forms surviving are correctly used.

a. The masc-neuter gen. *þines* (or *ðines*), occurring in all only 20x, generally modifies genitives of limitation or possession. See B. Rule (3x viz. 3, 5 beboda *þines* lareowes; 3, 6; 107, 18 on þam midle *þines* temples), Lamb. Hom. (once, 11, 26 *þines* drihtenes nome), V. & V. (4x viz. 39, 25; 109, 28 ut of *ðines* fader huse; 109, 32 ut of *ðines* flasches lustes; 111, 1) and Laȝ. A (4x viz. 3517 ich eam *þines* fader sweine; 16546; 17958; 28605). Occasionally it modifies a subjective or objective gen., namely, in Lamb. Hom. (4x viz. 21, 3 Muchel is *þines* eorðliches louerdes eie; 37, 29 for *þines* drihtenes luue; 39, 7; 51, 8 efter *þines* scriftes wissunge); three times it mod. an adverbial gen. viz. in Lamb. Hom. (once, 17, 35 swa þu waldest þet me dude þe *þines þonkes*) and in V. & V. (2x viz. 111, 7-8 tu scule ðe woreld forlaten *ðines ajenes þankes*, ær ðe deað hes te benime *þines unþankes*); and once it mod. the plur. object of a preposition in text K-W of Prov. of A. (499 mid alle þeuues *þines*).

b. The masc. acc. *þinne* (*þinna*) occurs 16x; it mod. masc. nouns used as direct obj. in B. Rule (2x viz. 37, 31 Vnwreoh God Ealmihtige *þinne* wey; 37, 5 forþyldiȝa *þinna* drihten), V. & V. (once, 73, 6 ȝif ðu *ðinne* cristendom wel hal[d]st), Ancren R. (once, 106, 28 dute *þinne* tutelinde muð mit þine lippen), Laȝ. A (6x viz. 5074 leoue *þinne* broðer; 11494; 13067; 13341; 16078; 18916) and So. Leg. (2x viz. 9, 439 to lere *þinne* sone; 55, 230); in Laȝ. A it modifies the obj. of a preposition (3x viz. 12945 wið Cadal *þinne*[81] cniht; 13571; 22182 mid *þinne* monweorede); and once, in V. & V. it mod. a gen. sing. (71, 14 *ðinne*[81] lichame[s] hæle).

c. The fem. sing. form *þire* (*þinre*, etc.) which occurs altogether 87x, modifies gen. nouns of possession or limitation 8x, in B. Rule (5x e. g. 17, 3 on *þinre* swuster eaȝe; 3, 7; 9, 12, etc.), Laȝ. A (2x viz. 28104 *þire* suster sune; 28152), R. Poems of J (once, 6, 49 for *þire* moder bene); and dat. nouns, generally obj. of a prep., 76x, in B. Rule (2x viz. 5, 30-31), Lamb. Hom. (2x viz. 25, 1; 33, 5), V. & V. (11x e. g. 83, 21;

[81] Written in the MSS. however as *þine*, the contraction.

87, 6 fram *ðire* herte; 115, 12; 141, 27, etc.), Prayers & Hymns (5x e. g. 199, 149; 199, 169 to *þire* glednisse; 199, 168, etc.), Laȝ. A (49x viz. mod. obj. of prep., often *hond*, 46x e. g. 8865 to *þire* aȝere hond; 14591 of *þire* brude; 22654, etc.—indir. obj. 2x viz. 3160-1 worðschepe haue *þu þire* wel-deda and *þire* feire sonde—direct obj. once, 5073 and ilef *þire* moder), Prov. of A. (once, 242) and O. & N. (6x e. g. 429 on *þire* side; 914; 1650, etc.). Once, in O. & N. this form may be read as an objective gen. (1116 hi þencheþ alle of *þire* pine), once, in Laȝ. it modifies a gen. plur. (22448 ah ich wulle habben *þire* hæhre monne children), and the one time that it occurs in Curs. M. it modifies the neuter obj. of a prep. (4313 Thoru *þire* ei).

d. The few plural forms noted in Section II, namely *þinra* in Lamb. Hom., *þinum* (*þirum*) in B. Rule and *ðinen* in V. & V. are used correctly.

III. GENITIVE-POSSESSIVE PLURAL.

The chief question in connection with the gen-poss. plur. relates to the use of the forms with final *-e*. And here also the data relating to the so-called inflected and uninflected forms will be most likely to lead to definite conclusions.

1. In the period represented by the first 32 monuments, the uninflected forms modify sing. nouns 161x, plur. nouns 88x and are used as genitives 5x, while the *-e*-forms mod. sing. nouns 86x, plur. nouns 58x and are used as genitives 9x. There is not much to be gained from these figures except that the uninflected forms predominate over the others in a ratio of 12 to 7, and that the genitival uses which survive from the O. E. are comparatively few and insignificant.

a. The number of the uninflected forms is, for the chief monuments of this first period, as follows: Lamb. Hom. (sing. 11x e. g. 13, 31; 105, 21; 137, 29, etc.—plur. 12x e. g. 13, 33; 35, 22; 105, 22, etc.), V. & V. (sing. 11x e. g. 113, 4; 45, 5; 81, 5, etc.—plur. 5x e. g. 71, 29; 79, 23; 81, 6, etc.), Kath. (sing. 13x e. g. 570; 807; 1293, etc.—plur. 3x viz. 344; 642; 837), Ancren R. (sing. 81x e. g. 112, 27; 188, 6; 34, 17, etc. —plur. 37x e. g. 46, 25; 66, 22; 254, 25, etc.) and Laȝ. (sing. 21x e. g. 3652; 17082; 26448, etc.—plur. 16x e. g. 5865; 12516; 13943, etc.). In O. & N. (3x), R. Poems of J (4x) and Ass. (3x) the uninflected forms mod. only sing. nouns.

b. The inflected or *-e*-forms mod. sing. and plur. nouns as follows: Orm. (sing. 20x e. g. 946; 1724; 934, etc.—plur. 20x e. g. 9008; 11094; 14043, etc.), V. & V. (sing. 18x e. g. 69, 23; 79, 22; 139, 17, etc.—plur.

once, 79, 23), Ancren R. (sing. 9x e. g. 50, 19; 64, 15; 44, 20, etc.—plur. once, 46, 25), Laȝ. (sing. 24x e. g. 9502; 15047; 19175, etc.—plur. 17x e. g. 13889; 19537; 5874, etc.) and Kent. Serm. (sing. once, 35, 11—plur. 3x viz. 28, 22; 32, 4). In Lamb. Hom. (2x), Meidan M. (3x) and Prov. of A. (3x) the inflected forms mod. only plur. nouns; on the contrary they mod. only sing. nouns in Gen. & Ex. (6x) and R. Poems of J (5x).

c. The above figures are exclusive of the genitival uses of the pronoun, of which examples occur, for the first period, as follows: uninflected forms in Lamb. Hom. (gen. of limitation once, 21, 30 þah ure an heafde idon *eower alre* sunne—partitive gen. once, 15, 32 and *eour* eyþer sunegað biforan drihten), Kath. (once, 1277 Me ȝef fifti wimmen . . . hefden mid wordes *ower* an aworpen), Ancren R. (once, 194, 5 heo biswikeð ou and is *ower* treitre) and Fl. & Bl. (once, 534 Hele ihc wulle and noþing wreie *Ower beire* cumpaignie); inflected forms in Orm. (part. gen. with *nan* 3x viz. 9271; 12701; 18338), V. & V. (67, 16 ȝif ȝeure ani . . . is ihealden for wis) and Gen. & Ex. (part. gen. 5x viz. 2318 *gure* on haueð is cuppe stolen; 3471 Ilc *gure;* 3760-64 thrice).

2. In the period represented by the last 31 monuments the uninflected forms mod. sing. nouns 235x, plur. nouns 85x, and are used as genitives 3x, while the *-e*-forms mod. sing. nouns 112x, plur. nouns 49x, and are used genitivally only once. The ratio of uninflected and *-e*-forms has become 12 to 6 and the number of pure genitives is smaller still.

a. For this period the relative modification of sing. and plur. nouns by uninflected forms is for the chief monuments as follows: Psalter (sing. 5x e. g. 30, 25; 34, 14; 80, 4, etc.—plur. 10x e. g. 4, 5; 23, 9; 61, 9, etc.), So. Leg. (sing. 68x e. g. 25, 119; 47, 324; 55, 146, etc.—plur. 21x e. g. 40, 179; 55, 124; 62, 75, etc.), Curs. M. (sing. 138x e. g. 4129; 7292; 26118, etc.—plur. 36x e. g. 6599; 9306; 18125, etc.), R. Glouc. (sing. 4x viz. 10285; 10310; 4035; 11710—plur. once, 2658) and Kil. Poems (sing. 12x e. g. 1, 36; 8, 116; 8, 82, etc.—plur. 17x e. g. 8, 51; 8, 55; 8, 99, etc.). The uninflected form modifies sing. nouns only in Nor. Leg. II (2x), B. & S. II (once), Harl. 2253 (3x) and Dream-Book (once).

b. The inflected forms modify nouns as follows: Psalter (sing. 2x viz. 57, 3; 68, 33—plur. 3x viz. 33, 6; 47, 14; 57, 10), Nor. Leg. I (sing. 3x viz. 2, 109; 2, 418 twice—plur. once, 2, 628), Nor. Leg. II (sing. 44x e. g. 1, 400; 2, 61; 23, 59, etc.—plur. 14x e. g. 10, 38; 22, 332; 35, 1035, etc.), So. Leg. (sing. 7x e. g. 20, 138; 27, 2085; 9, 388, etc.—plur. 2x viz. 20, 127; 59, 28), Hav. (sing. 5x e. g. 171; 1416;

2067, etc.—plur. once, 2801), R. Glouc. (sing. 27x e. g. 4920; 9412; 4373, etc.—plur. 20x e. g. 4829; 7427; 4825, etc.), Jos. (sing. 7x e. g. 378; 465; 384, etc.—plur. 5x e. g. 45; 345; 417, etc.) and Harl. 2253 (sing. once, P 8, 20—plur. once, P 8, 70). The inflected forms mod. only sing. nouns in Digby 86 (3x), Prov. of Hend. (once), B. & S. II (once), Horn (once) and Kil. Poems (9x).

c. The pure genitives are found in only two monuments, namely, uninflected in Curs. M. (3x viz. 24585 þis semed stryf, bot þis was nan, For *both your* will was in an; 16272 in *yur aller* sight; 19100 I vnderstand þat yee it did *yur* vnwitand) and, inflected, in Jos. (once, 489 Nolde ȝe me ileue *ȝoure* neuer on).

The *-e*-forms modifying sing. nouns cannot be merely the survival of older inflectional forms unless it be in a very general and vague way because nouns of all genders and cases are modified indiscriminately. So it is necessary to fall back upon the same conclusions as those reached for *þine*, namely, that the *-e*-forms are used to satisfy metrical requirements or else because an inorganic *e* is in vogue.

3. The use of the gen-poss. plur. absolutely is limited. For the first period it occurs in V. & V. (once, 21, 19 for godes muchele mildce and for *ȝewer*), Ancren R. (2x viz. 266, 6 þe uiht is min and nout *oure*; 262, 16) and Laȝ. (once, 7906 Rome is *eowre* irihte), and in the second period in So. Leg. (once, 28, 70 For heore bi-leue is riȝtful and guod: and *ouwere* nis wuyrth a stre), (Horn (once, 872 Al þys lond þanne be *ȝyure*), Hav. (3x viz. 2798 Leuedi, Kristes ore And *youres*; 2800-1 For England auhte for to ben *youres*, and we *youre* men and *youres*[82]), Curs. M. (4x viz. 2068 Drightin graunt . . . þat al þis werld be *yurs* tua; 5058 Mi fader coth he fars well i watte, Knauing of *yours* haue i nan; 15409 If ye me oght of *yurs* giue; 17340 And als yee said it sal i wene On yow and *yours* bath be sene) and R. Glouc. (once, 8174 ȝare hors beþ suiftore þan *ȝoure* be).

4. Once *yur* is used postpositively, in Curs. M. (15411 In handes *yur* . i sal him teche[83]).

IV. DATIVE-ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR AND PLURAL.[84]

Since the O. E. distinction of dative and accusative has altogether disappeared as far as the forms of the pronoun of address are concerned, the syntactical classification will be made from the standpoint of modern

[82] See note 63, page 48.

[83] Influenced, perhaps, by *in manus tuas*.

[84] Data are given for the singular only.

English, with four chief groups according as the dat-acc. is used as object of a verb, as indirect object, as object of a preposition or as subject of an infinitive.

1. Direct object of verb. Two O. E. constructions have become merged into the one in M. E. so as hardly to be distinguished except by one who knows the history of each. In the first class are those constructions where the pronoun represents an O. E. accusative object of a verb (Ex. Woh. 269, 5 Ah hwa ne mei luue *þe*); in the second are the objects which represent an older dative object of a verb (Ex. Laȝ. 3041 sua *þe* helpe Appolin). For the pronoun of the second person it would be making an artificial distinction to attempt to separate the examples of the two usages. And the same is true of the objects of the impersonal verbs such as *þunchеþ*, *reoweð* (cf. B. Rule 23, 7 ne reoweð hit *þe* nefre) or *birrþ* which Orm loves to the extent of using it with *þe* 122x (e. g. 1240 *te* birrþ ummbeþennkenn aȝȝ).

For the period represented by the first 32 monuments these objects constitute about 40% of all dat-acc. singulars. They occur in the more important pieces as follows: Lamb. Hom. (11x e. g. 9, 20 ac me *þe* sculde nimen; 15, 24; 17, 11, etc.), Orm. (206x e. g. 669; 4847; 4942, etc.), V. & V. (91x e. g. 11, 13; 39, 13 ðanne behoueð ðe ðat ðu bie wel warr; 65, 3, etc.), Jul. (33x e. g. 10, 11; 16, 6 *þe* schal laðin his luue; 42, 14, etc.), Ancren R. (90x e. g. 90, 19; 124, 15; 168, 8, etc.), Laȝ. (129x e. g. 1390; 1563; 3041, etc.), Gen. & Ex. (18x), O. & N. (26x), Fl. & Bl. (22x), etc. In the second period (Nos. 33-63) the dir. obj. constitutes only about 30% of all constructions. Cf. especially Digby 86 (14x e. g. 33, 205; 35, 35, etc.), Psalter (84x e. g. 2, 7; 5, 11; 19, 2, etc.), Nor. Leg. II (141x e. g. 1, 97; 3, 41; 4, 175, etc.), So. Leg. (156x e. g. 10, 21; 23, 45, etc.), Horn (36x), Hav. (22x), Curs. M. (228x), R. Glouc. (33x) and Harl. 2253 (47x).

2. Reflexive dir. obj. Not included in the above are the reflexive direct objects which constitute for the first period about 7% of all dat-acc. constructions and for the later period about 5½% only, a decrease to be explained largely by the increased use of the intens-reflex. compound form. Under the general head of reflexive are comprised two slightly different constructions, namely, that one which is merely the reflexive counterpart of the ordinary direct objects noted above (e. g. Laȝ. 1073 *þu* . . . scild *þe*), and one which is termed by Voges [85] and others the 'pleonastic dative,' a more or less inorganic part of the sentence which

[85] Voges, Der Reflexive Dativ im Englischen.

follows intransitive verbs of motion and some transitive verbs already possessed of an object (e. g. B. Rule 17, 4 far *þe* inn). The reflex. dir. obj. occurs in the chief monuments of the first period as follows: Orm. 40x e. g. 1406; 4466 tu *þe* loke wel; 5138—151 ne dred *te*, Zacariȝe, nohht; 8659; 13581), V. & V. (10x e. g. 101, 21 Bewænt *te* all abuten; 135, 25—65, 8 ȝif ðu ðus ðe beþencst; 65, 22; 67, 31 ne forliȝe ðe on hordomes; 113, 29, etc.), Kath. (5x e. g. 1529; 2086; 1887, etc.), Hali M. (17x e. g. 7, 15 And tac *þe* to him; 33, 10—35, 18 Ga *þe* nu forðre; 41, 18, etc.), Ancren R. (25x e. g. 52, 27—98, 19 hie *þe* heoneward, etc.), Laȝ. (17x e. g. 1073; 4367; 24157—9846 bi-þenc *þe*; 25769 and wend *þe* ouer þat water deope; 25791 and fus *þe* to þam feonde,[86] etc.), Gen. & Ex. (4x viz. 1816-17; 3511; 3987), O. & N. (4x viz. 161 Schamie *þe* for þin unrede; 353; 1113; 1302) and Fl. & Bl. (2x viz. 158; 756). In the later period it occurs in Digby 86 (3x viz. 35, 36 Greyþe *þe*; 35, 39; 38, 240 Hieþe *þe* oup to arisen), Psalter (3x viz. 36, 10; 69, 2—30, 3 high *þe* swiþe), Nor. Leg. II (29x e. g. 6, 243; 7, 553—19, 49 flit *þe* ferr; 22, 97, etc.), So. Leg. (35x e. g. 9, 916; 39, 154—9, 961 hiȝe *þe* swiþe; 47, 29, etc.), Hav. (2x viz. 661; 2168), Curs. M. (63x e. g. 3641 Now high *þe* suith; 7346 weind *þe* forth to morn; 10555 spede *þe*; 13754 ga *þe* nu forth; 20611, etc.), R. Glouc. (4x) and Harl. 2253 (7x e. g. P 5, 117 do *þe* forþ to rome; W 9, 25; G 15, 27, etc.).

3. The plur. reflex. is rarely used as a reciprocal pronoun. Cf. Lamb. Hom. (125, 18 min heste þet ȝe luuien *eou* bitwixan alswa ic luuede eou), Orm. (5273 Ðatt iss min bodeword, tatt ȝe *ȝuw* lufenn swa bitwenenn Rihht alls icc hafe lufedd ȝuw) and Hali M. (16, 16 for ȝif ȝe þenne hondlen *ow* in ani stude untoheliche).

4. Indirect object. Several types of this construction occur. The most common form is that in which a verb of giving, yielding, etc.—many more than in modern English—governs as direct obj. a noun and as indirect obj. the pronoun (Hav. 2402 And he shal yelde *þe* þi mede). In another very common type the dir. obj. is a clause (Hav. 1660 And y ful wel rede *þe* þat þou come, and ete with me). Frequently in Curs. M. as well as in other poetical pieces the clause lacks an introductory connective and appears to be separate; but the general sense shows that it is the logical object of some verb of promising, telling, warning, etc., which precedes (Curs. M. 1959-60 I warn *yow* als-sua all be-deme Ete o na best o kind vn-clene; 5431-2 Fader, trule now i *þe* hight, It sal be don als þou has tight). Another rather common survival of the O. E.

[86] In the last 3 instances Laȝ. B omits the accusative as superfluous.

dative constructions is that wherein the dat-acc. is dependent upon certain adjectives used as predicate adjectives (Laȝ. 2964 hu leof æm ich þe?). Already, however, the prepositional phrase made with *to* is found frequently. Another indir. obj., less common than those mentioned, is akin to the dative of possession or reference (Hav. 1951 Quoth Ubbe, Bernard, hwat is þe? Hwo haues þe þus ille maked?). And finally, an indir. obj. occurs rather frequently in subordinate clauses introduced by *as* where *as* is generally to be taken as a relative pronoun rather than a conjunctive adverb of manner (Hav. 2592 But dos mi als ich wile *you* lere).

During the first period the various forms of indir. obj. discussed above comprise about 30% of all occurrences of the dat-acc. sing. They occur in Lamb. Hom. (16x e. g. 9, 18 þa ilka wrake þe ic dude þe; 27, 6; 39, 34, etc.), Orm. (73x e. g. 16529 Godd ah þe litell mede; 18818; 4885, etc.), V. & V. (59x e. g. 85, 3 ȝif ic hadde ani þing þat ðe icweme wære; 99, 25; 111, 6, etc.), Kath. (18x e. g. 453; 685; 2391, etc.), Hali M. (23x e. g. 31, 26 þine banes akeð þe; 35, 21; 47, 14, etc.), Ancren R. (41x e. g. 96, 22; 114, 19; 238, 3, etc.), Laȝ. (262x e. g. 2262 seorwe þe beoð geneðe; 2964 hu leof æm ich þe[87]; 3020; 3185, etc.), Gen. & Ex. (13x e. g. 359; 927; 1569, etc.), O. & N. (9x e. g. 551; 715; 903, etc.), R. Poems of J (21x e. g. 1, 421; 10, 145 He haueþ bi-tauht þe o tresur; 10, 193, etc.), etc.

In the later period the indir. obj. aggregates only about 26½% of all the dat-acc. sing. occurrences, showing a tendency to yield its place to phrases, as suggested above. It occurs in the more prominent monuments as follows: Siriz (16x e. g. 33 ani þing þat þe is lef; 63; 138, etc.), H. H. (12x e. g. 75, 98 þe is fallen aunbesas; 114, etc.), Psalter (6x e. g. 19, 3 He sende þe helpe; 44, 17; 49, 12, etc.), Nor. Leg. II (105x e. g. 1, 386 I gif þe leue; 2, 306; 7, 104 Drusyan þat was þe ful dere; 10, 239, etc.), So. Leg. (206x e. g. 10, 98 ȝwat was þe; 10, 363; 15, 91, etc.), Hav. (22x e. g. 384; 2402, etc.), Curs. M. (223x e. g. 1722 I sal þe hald þat i þe hight; 2687; 3185, etc.), R. Glouc. (45x e. g. 1344 Wat ssolde ich þe more do; 2720 merlin wat is þe; 4076, etc.), Kil. Poems (13x e. g. 5, 88 Ich forȝiue þe þis gilte; 13, 2; 4, 42, etc.) and Harl. 2253 (35x e. g. G 7, 42 y synge þe mi song; 8, 27; 9, 25, etc.).

5. Like the direct obj., the indirect obj. is used reflexively, tho less often. In the first period I find 14 examples, constituting about half of one per cent of all occurrences of the dat-acc. sing., namely, in Orm. (3x

[87] As dative dependent upon an adjective *þe* is used frequently in Laȝ. Cf. also 2308; 3006; 3042; 3048; 8548; 8785, etc.

viz. 12249 þa mihhtesst tu . . . *þe* winnenn heoffness blisse; 16358 tac þu *þe* þe fowwerrtiȝ; 16366 tac *þe* Crist), Hali M. (once, 9, 9 bute þu wiþ breide þe, bredes *te* þat oder), Ancren R. (once, 164, 3), Laȝ. (3x viz. 14556; 30810; 31410), Gen. & Ex. (2x viz. 360; 3665 ches *þe* nu her seuenti), Prov. of A. (2x viz. 374; 673 Ac nim *þe* to þe a stable mon), R. Poems of J (once, 10, 202) and Best. (once, 194).

In the second period this construction is even rarer; only 8 examples occur, in Digby 86 (once, 35, 66 þou nim *þe* kep), Prov. of Hend. (once, 25, 3 Del *þe* sum aboute), H. H. (once, 93 of Digby MS.), B. & S. II (once, 217) and Curs. M. (4x viz. 6409; 19815; 25895; 28777).

6. The dat-acc. used as object of a preposition is, of course, very common, replacing quite largely the O. E. genitive and dative constructions. For example the use of *þi* as an objective gen. noted above (see p. 62) is paralleled and gradually replaced by the phrase *of þe*; the older partitive gen. is almost always expressed in the thirteenth century by an *of* phrase (cf. Hav. 1442 Ilk of *you* shal haue castles ten); and even the possessive adj. is occasionally expressed by a periphrastic genitive (Hav. 1361 Lauerd . . . For the holi milce of *you*, Have merci of me; Curs. M. 4481 thoru þe help of *þe*; Harl. 2253 . G 4, 48 þe help of *þe* be me nest!).

For the first period about 20% of all dat-acc. singulars are used as object of a preposition. The construction occurs, for example, in Orm. (33x e. g. 209 to *þe*; 1042 o *þe*; 1463, etc.), V. & V. (55x e. g. 23, 10 on *ðe*; 23, 12 fram *ðe*; 33, 29, etc.), Ancren R. (51x e. g. 122, 2; 136, 4, etc.), Laȝ. (67x e. g. 3039; 8854; 13061, etc.), Gen. & Ex. (9x), O. & N. (20x), Fl. & Bl. (11x), etc.

In the second period about 33% of all are used as obj. of prep., a large part of which occur in Psalter (237x[88] e. g. 5, 4; 7, 2; 17, 30, etc.), Nor. Leg. II (153x e. g. 1, 151; 2, 50; 3, 130, etc.), So. Leg. (148x e. g. 10, 504; 15, 63; 19, 44, etc.) and Curs. M. (227x e. g. 2608; 3636, etc.). Of the other more important monuments of the period the dat-acc. sing. is used as obj. of prep. in Siriz (12x e. g. 40; 71; 81, etc.), Hav. (13x e. g. 489 Ayen *þe*; 627; 1324, etc.), R. Glouc. (40x e. g. 2250; 4002, etc.), Kil. Poems (20x e. g. 1, 101; 4, 25; 5, 101, etc.) and Harl. 2253 (52x).

7. The pronoun is used as reflexive obj. of prep. much oftener than as reflexive indir. obj. In the first period the construction occurs 24x or about 1% of all occurrences, namely, in V. & V. (3x viz. 39, 15; 41, 1;

[88] *Of þe* (= Lat. *tuus*) is very common. Cf. 16, 8; 50, 3 after mikel mercy of *þe;* 88, 9; 108, 26, etc.

41, 4), Kath. (once, 2051), Prayers & Hymns (once, 211, 21 and ȝif me lif in ðe), Woh. (once, 285, 30 tac hit to þe), Ancren R. (3x viz. 38, 4; 266, 16; 282, 18), Laȝ. (9x e. g. 19095; 16058; 17216, etc.), Prov. of A. (once, 673), Fl. & Bl. (2x viz. 325; 363), etc.

This reflex. obj. of prep. occurs in the later period 73x or about 2½%, chiefly in Psalter (12x e. g. 7, 10 And right sal tou rightwise to þe; 20, 14; 36, 34, etc.), Nor. Leg. II (13x e. g. 1, 24; 3, 62; 6, 182, etc.), So. Leg. (17x e. g. 10, 89; 18, 33; 39, 221, etc.) and Curs. M. (18x e. g. 8645; 9627, etc.).

In a great many instances the preposition follows the pronoun, usually being placed at the end of a line, often apparently for metrical reasons (cf. Laȝ. 8854 lett me speken þe wiðˢ⁹; Nor. Leg. II 1, 240 þou tak mi saul þe to; Curs. M. 5817 I bidd þe strek þi hand þe fra; R. Glouc. 2468 þin owe men . . . þat þe beþ aboute).

Sometimes, indeed, this might be deemed a case of separation of an adverbial particle from the verb rather than a preposition from the pronoun governed, but since the construction would be logically the same in either case, such a fine distinction need not cause any difficulty here.

Once the pronoun is combined with its preposition in V. & V. (75, 23 *to ðeward*).

7. The dat-acc. is also used occasionally as subject of an infinitive. For the first period 33 examples of this construction occur, about 1½% of all occurrences of the dat-acc. sing. Cf. Lamb. Hom. (once, 21, 16 and pinian þine licome þe hit þe makeð don), Orm. (9x e. g. 4948; 5250; 10129, etc.), V. & V. (3x viz. 25, 10 Ðis hali mihte ðe dieð ilieuen; 87, 11; 127, 31), Hali M. (4x e. g. 3, 20 ant makien þe to þenchen; 15, 10; 31, 23, etc.), Laȝ. (5x e. g. 3163; 7879; 16068, etc.), Fl. & Bl. (2x viz. 341 Whane he þe hireþ speke so hendeliche; 389), etc.

In the second period this construction occurs also 33x, but constitutes only about 1% of all examples of the dat-acc. sing. It occurs for the most part in Digby 86 (2x viz. 35, 84 He doþ þe raþest falle; 35, 114), Nor. Leg. II (4x viz. 7, 84; 24, 260 . 385; 28, 145), So. Leg. (5x e. g. 35, 115; 38, 73; 55, 189, etc.), Curs. M. (12x e. g. 1946 I sal do þe ful wel to fare; 10444; 10978, etc.) and Harl. 2253 (4x).

8. Once in the first period this subj. of infin. is reflexive in Meidan M. (231 Ant let þe folewen in fonston) and 4x in the second period in Curs. M. (4310 þou do þe stallworþli to flei; 13797; 13818, etc.).

9. A construction which is rarely found but very interesting because

[89] In Laȝ. the preposition frequently follows, in the case of *wið*, generally. Cf. also 8867; 8903; 13305; 17619; 32677, etc.

it is so like the combination of the dat-acc. with *self* which did develop from thirteenth-century beginnings into a stable and enduring form, is that construction wherein the dat-acc. is used with *ane*. The earlier stage where *ane* is added intensively to subject or object (e. g. *þu ane* corresponding to *þu self*) is not uncommon. (Cf. Lamb. Hom. 111, 8 *þu ane* ne brukest naut þinra welena). But the stage where *þe ane* is used as an intensive appositive to a nominative is reached only in a few southern monuments, namely, in Marh. (once, 50, 9 tu *þe ane* hauest ouergan þi feder ant ti moder), Jul. (2x viz. 22, 7 hwi leauestu ham *þe ane*; 22, 8 ne wen þu nawt *þe ane* wiδ þi wisdom to ouerstihen ham alle), Woh. (once, 271, 34) and Ancren R. (once, 86, 11 Ne gest tu nout *þe one*).[90]

Once, in the Harl. text of H. H., this construction seems to have reached the genitive stage corresponding to *þi self* (79 þenne þou bileuest al *þyn one* = Digby text 69 þenne þou letest *þe alone*).

10. Finally, an imported ablative absolute appears in the Psalter 3x (103, 28 Giveand *þe* to þam, gedre þai sal = Dante te illis colligent; 103, 28; 103, 28).

V. INTENSIVE-REFLEXIVE SINGULAR AND PLURAL.

I. INTENSIVE, AS SUBJECT.—1. The intensive *self*, used as an appositive to or modifier of nouns and pronouns persists thruout the century even tho it does also develop into a special compound pronoun when combined with the gen. or dat. case of the personal pronoun.

a. The intensified nom. sing., uninflected, occurs in Laȝ. A[91] (7x e. g. 7314 *þu sulf* mi mon bicumen; 7336; 14941, etc.), O. & N. (once, 497 *þu sulf* art þar-among) and Curs. M. (once, 27960 Bot lok *þou self*, vmthinckand te þat þou in nan suilk plight be); the plur. occurs in Curs. M. (once, 14691 Bot-if *yee self* willi be blind).

b. This same intensified nom. occurs in the plur. with an inflected intensive *seluen* in Curs. M. (3x viz. 780 Als godds suld *ȝee seluen* be; 6786; 19094).

2. Once, only, the intensive of the second stage of development, namely, the dat-acc. with *self*, uninflected, is used as a simple subject, in Curs. M. (20954 nu *þe-self* es cummen here).

3. The forms representing the third stage are used in place of the simple subject more often.

[90] For examples of this construction in the third person see Einenkel, *Das Englische Indefinitum*, p. 177, and Maetzner, Sprachproben, I, 1, 26, note 18.

[91] Laȝ. A can be said to mark the passing of this older construction since Laȝ. B generally substitutes for the simpler *þu self* the longer *þou þi seolf*.

a. Uninflected forms are used in MS. R of Jul. (once, 22, 2), Ancren R. (once, 124, 16 ne me þe ueind . . . fulen þine soule . . . bute ȝif *þi sulf* hit makie), Laȝ. B (once, 7336), Nor. Leg. II (8x e. g. 1, 62 *þi-self* þe suth wele knawes; 1, 237; 14, 245; 17, 792, etc.), So. Leg. (once, 25, 57 ase *þi-sulf* miȝt i-seo) and Curs. M. (11x e. g. 1666 *þi self* sal be þe maister wright; 9568; 26311, etc.).

b. A similar construction but with the inflected form *seluen* occurs in Nor. Leg. II (once, 16, 456 now may *þi-seluen* se).

II. Intensive, as Object.—1. The forms of the first stage, viz. dat-acc. with *self* (*-e, -en*) are, as would be expected, used frequently as an intensified objective construction. *a.* The uninflected form *þe self* and its variants occur as dir. obj. in Orm. (once, 5288 tanne shallt tu muȝhenn sen O whillkess kinness wise *þa sellf* birrþ lufenn oþre menn) and Curs. M. (once, 28638), as indir. obj. in Hymns of CCCO. (once, 3, 18 ihesu crist þin elpi sune þe is *þe seolf* iliche) and Curs. M. (19576), and as obj. of prep. in Orm. (2x viz. 1190; 1288), Woh. (once, 271, 9), Gen. & Ex. (once, 934 Of *ðe self* sal ðin erward ten) and Curs. M. (once, 12804 O *þe-self* quat wil þou sai?) while a corresponding plur. form is used as dir. obj. in MS. B of Jul. (once, 18, 1 ne nullich leauen ower read þat forreadeð *ow seolf*) and as obj. of prep. in So. Leg. (once, 21, 38 On *eov-sulf* it scholde nouþe bi-falle).

b. Singular forms inflected with *-e* are used as dir. obj. in MS. C of Horn (once, 49 þi lond folk we schulle slon . . . And *þe selue* riȝt anon) and as indir. obj. in O. & N. (once, 1284 for al þat þu me seist for schame, euer *þe seolue* hit turneþ to grome); a corresponding plur. form *eow selfe* is used as dir. obj. in Lamb. Hom. (once, 15, 2 eower lond ic wulle friþian and *eow selfe* meȝhan and bi-werian).

c. Singular forms inflected with *-en* are used as dir. obj. in Woh. (once, 271, 9 Halde iwile þa to þe mi leof for þe self luue *þe seluen*) and Laȝ. A (4x viz. 9840; 13115; 22579; 25312 Ah *þe seoluen* he wule binden) and as obj. of prep. in Jul. (once, 60, 4 ilich to *þe seoluen*), Prayers & Hymns (once, 195, 64 Er we to *þe suluen* kumen), Laȝ. A (4x viz. 15851; 26386; 28146; 29063) and Gen. & Ex. (once, 1319); the corresponding plur. forms are used as dir. obj. in MS. R of Jul. (once, 18, 1) and Lamb. Hom. (once, 13, 33) and as obj. of prep. in Kath. (2x viz. 1291; 2353).

2. The forms made up with gen-poss. are not used very often as mere intensive substitutes for an objective case. The uninflected sing. is used as obj. of prep. in Curs. M. (once, 8309 þat mai noght thoru *þi-self*

be don) while the uninflected plur. occurs as obj. of prep. in Nor. Leg. II (once, 35, 462 þis kist es lyke Unto *zoure self*). No inflected forms are used in exactly the same way.

Sometimes when the above-noted constructions take the place of the simpler forms of the pronoun they mean probably little more than the simple *þu* or *þe* would mean (cf. Nor. Leg. II 34, 749 *þi self* sall se, or So. Leg. 21, 38 On *eov-sulf* it scholde nouþe bi-falle); in many instances, however, an attempt is made to contrast or emphasize the personality of the one addressed. This is especially true of the forms compounded with the gen-poss. (cf. Jul. MS. R 22, 2 nulli þe na mare uuel þen *þi seolf* waldest). Here the speaker compares his own attitude with that of the person addressed.

It is not always possible to decide in such a construction as the one last cited whether the possessive plus *self* was regarded as a pronominal entity or whether the intensive *self* was considered a substantive modified by the possessive. Probably the latter was often felt to be the case; certainly, in a few instances, the context proves it to be so. Cf. P. Mor. 30 Ne beo þe leouere þan *þi seolf* . . . þi mey ne þi mowe; Nor. Leg. II 1, 90 þi preching proues *þi-self* a fole; 32, 142 On *þi-self* sal be sene þi sin; Curs. M. 1306 Ga to þe ȝatte . . . and late þi hed inwar, *þi self*[92] witoutte; R. Glouc. 6301 wel more þan þi lond *þi sulue* ich wilni ywis).

This emphasis of the *self* part of the combination doubtless explains why the dat-acc. with *self* was used so rarely as subject while the gen-poss. with *self* was so used quite often. Indeed the whole question of the shift in the intens-reflex. pronoun from a dat-acc. compound to a gen-poss. one is surely concerned with this apparently growing feeling that *self* was not merely an intensive pronominal adjective as in O. E. but a noun in some way designating the *ego*.

III. Intensive, as Appositive.—This construction shows an advance beyond the two above-noted in that the intensive compound is a separate unit used in apposition to a simple pronoun which is usually expressed.

1. A plur. intensive composed of *yee* and the uninflected *self* is used appositively in Curs. M. (once, 6096 In mining sal ye hald þis dai, *Yee-self* and your oxspring ai) and, if the subject of the imperative be understood, in Laȝ. A (once, 15051 hældeð *ȝe seolf* eowre lond).

2. The forms made up with the dat-acc. are used more frequently as appositives. *a*. With the uninflected grade of the intensive *self* they occur in the sing. in Orm. (10x e. g. 4162 ȝiff þu þe *sellf* wel nim-

[92] The scribes of MSS. F, G, T substitute 'body' for 'self.'

esst gom; 4666 Lac nu þe *sellf;* 5020, etc.), Kath. (once, 2378 milde Iesu þat art *te seolf* meidene mede), Marh. (once, 16, 31) and Woh. (once, 279, 5 þu þe *self* was poure); the corresponding plur. forms are used appositively in Ancren R. (once, 226, 19 ȝe beoð tures *ou sulf*), So. Leg. (once, 47, 357) and Harl. 2253 (once, W 5, 60).

b. Plural forms inflected with *-e* occur in R. Poems of J (2x viz. 1, 398 Nymeþ hym *eu seolue* and on rode do; 3, 299).

c. Sing. forms inflected with *-en* are used in V. & V. (once, 65, 7), Kath. (once, 634), Laȝ. A (once, 19872 and bæd þat þu sculdest a Brutte þe *seoluen* halden laȝen rihte), Prov. of A. (once, 547 hwile þine dages dugen, and þu þe *selwen* liue mowe), and Curs. M. (once, 5429); corresponding plur. forms are thus used in Lamb. Hom. (2x viz. 35, 20-21 forþi leofemen understondet *eouseluen* þa hwile ȝe mahten. Nis þas weorld nawiht ȝe hit iseoð *eow seluen*), V. & V. (once, 93, 23 Godes temple is hali, and ðat ȝe bieð *ȝeu seluen*), Ancren R. (once, 406, 23) and Laȝ. A (once, 5802).

3. *a.* Intensives of the third or gen-poss. stage (e. g. þi *self*) occur rather often as appositives with the uninflected *self*. See Laȝ. A (2x viz. 17963; 31097), Laȝ. B (5x e. g. 7314; 14941, etc.), R. Poems of J (once, 1, 350 Hweþer seystu hit *þi seolf* . oþer oþre hit seyde by me), Digby 86 (once, 35, 61 be þou nout *þi self* ouncouþ), Psalter (2x viz. 50, 9; 101, 28), Nor. Leg. II (2x viz. 19, 254; 35, 42), So. Leg. (2x viz. 10, 194 and stond *þi-sulf* with-oute; 27, 2032), R. Glouc. (3x viz. 1082; 4006; 4918) and Harl. 2253 (once, W 1, 18).

b. A sing. with inflected (*-en*) form may be construed as an appositive once in Curs. M. (4604 lok *þi-seluen* wit resun) altho it is possible to take it as a reflexive dir. object.

It will be noted that all the intensive appositives cited are used with the subject, none after any objective constructions. In the middle stage of development of the new intens-reflex. pronoun the use of *þe self,* for example, after þe would make an unpleasant repetition of þe and so the simple pronoun falls out.

IV. Reflexive.—The uses of these various combinations as reflexive pronouns are more common than the intensives. 1. The dat-acc. compound with the three inflectional grades of *self* occurs as follows:

a. Sing. pronouns with uninflected forms of *self* are used as dir. obj. in Hali M. (2x viz. 27, 1 þe . . . þat forschuppes *te self*; 27, 14).and Ancren R. (3x viz. 100, 12; 100, 18; 102, 16), as obj. of prep. in Hali M. (2x viz. 29, 14 for *þe self*; 35, 17), Woh. (2x viz. 273, 9; 287, 3) and Curs. M. (once, 12804 O *þe-self* quat wil þou sai?) and as reflexive

subj. of infin. in Curs. M. (once, 18278 Ill has þou don *þe-self* to spede); plur. forms corresponding to the above forms are used as dir. obj. in Marh. (once, 54b, 10 as ȝe luueð *owseolf*), Ancren R. (2x viz. 46, 9; 186, 28) and Hav. (2x viz. 2425; 2595), and as obj. of prep. in Ancren R. (3x viz. 22, 21; 92, 22; 106, 6) and Curs. M. (2x viz. 16653 wepe yee noght for me, Bot on yur childer and on *yow-self*; 28026).

b. The sing. forms inflected with *-e* are used as dir. obj. in Exp. Pat. Nos. (once, 200 luue þine euecristene . . . alswa *þe solue*) and as indir. obj. in B. Rule (2x viz. 125, 24; 143, 14); the corresponding plural forms are used as dir. obj. in Harl. 2253 (once, G 17, 2 ȝe þat wolleþ *ou selue* yknowe) and as obj. of prep. in MS. C of Horn (once, 364 Wiþ him ȝe wolden pleie Bitwex *ȝou selue* tweie).

c. The forms inflected with *-en* are used much more often as reflexives. Sing. forms occur as dir. obj. in Exp. Pat. Nos. (once, 40 Luuien þi cristen euenling Alswa *þe seoluen*), Lamb. Hom. (once, 27, 36 þu wreiest *þe seolfen*), Orm. (14x e. g. 4469; 5007; 5085, etc.), V. & V. (18x e. g. 37, 25; 59, 9; 67, 5, etc.), Kath. (once), Jul. (once), Woh. (4x), Ancren R. (once, 12, 19 dem ðe *suluen* euer woc), Prov. of A. (once, 562) and Curs. M. (3x viz. 4362; 10435; 25315), as indir. obj. in Orm. (once, 5109 annd god don ec *þe sellfenn*) and Laȝ. A (once, 5051) and as obj. of prep. in B. Rule (once, 17, 5), Orm. (19x e. g. 4859; 5065; 5103, etc.), V. & V. (4x e. g. 65, 7; 103, 17; 107, 2, etc.), Marh. (3x viz. 4, 19 haue merci ant milce of *þe seoluen*; 7, 17; 19, 15), Prayers & Hymns (once, 195, 64), Woh. (once, 271, 23), Ancren R. (once, 340, 12) and Laȝ. A (once, 17938 þenc of *þe seoluen*). The corresponding plur. forms are used as dir. obj. in Trin. Hom. (once, 115, 19 and ech gate untineð *giu seluen* to-genes þe king [98]), V. & V. (2x viz. 79, 21 Wa ȝeu ðe healdeð *ȝeu seluen* for wise; 95, 28), Marh. (once, 18, 26), Ancren R. (3x viz. 98, 10; 186, 2; 422, 1), Laȝ. A (once, 12514), Digby 86 (once, 35, 8 ȝe þat wilen *ou seluen* cnowe), as indir. obj. in V. & V. (once, 123, 5 ȝie ðe seneȝin be ȝew seluen doð scame *ȝew seluen*) and as obj. of prep. in Trin. Hom. (once, 195, 4), Orm. (once, 949), V. & V. (3x viz. 53, 33; 79, 21; 123, 5) and Ancren R. (4x viz. 188, 24; 346, 12; 412, 17; 430, 5).

2. The later stage of the development of this reflexive pronoun of address is also well represented in all three inflectional grades.

[98] Morris's translation of this passage ("and each gate open yourselves") leaves the construction uncertain. He apparently assumes that *giu seluen* is an intensive appositive, whereas in reality it is the reflexive obj. of the verb, the whole translating closely *et elevamini portes eternales*.

a. Sing. forms with uninflected *self* are used as reflexive dir. obj. in Ancren R. (once, 124, 9), Nor. Leg. II (once, 6, 406 *þi-self* byse), So. Leg. (4x viz. 9, 1147; 15, 339 ȝif þou woldest . . . *þi-seolf* martri for mi loue; 19, 42; 48, 148) and Curs. M. (7x e. g. 16246 to bring *þi self* a-wai; 16255; 26581, etc.), as indir. obj. in Ancren R. (once, 294, 11 ȝif *þi sulf* . . . one smerte discepline) and Digby 86 (once, 35, 88 þou dost *þi self* wel muchel wrong), and as obj. of prep. in Ancren R. (3x viz. 180, 17; 276, 16; 336, 16), Nor. Leg. II (2x viz. 17, 754; 35, 394) and So. Leg. (3x viz. 10, 379 þench on *þi-sulf*; 25, 154; 30, 43). The gen-poss. plur. forms with uninflected *self* occur only as dir. obj. in Nor. Leg. II (once, 2, 157 Wirkes to wyn *ȝowre-self* fro wo) and in Curs. M. (2x viz. 26367 Wa yow þo *your-self* sa bi-suikkes; 26370).

b. Sing. gen-poss. forms with the second or *-e*-grade of *self* are used as reflexive dir. obj. in R. Poems of J (3x viz. 1, 141; 1, 452 Help nv *þi seolue*; 1, 457), as indir. obj. in Harl. 2253 (once, G 17, 82 þou dest *þy selue* muche wrong) and as obj. of prep. in B. & S. II (once. 208 Nouȝ wiþ *þi selve* thouȝ art forlorn). No plur. forms occur.

c. Sing. gen-poss. forms with the third or *-en*-grade of *self* are used as dir. obj., reflexively, in MS. B of Kath. (once, 1454), Ancren R. (once, 120, 1 tu schalt demen *þi suluen* wod) and Laȝ. A (once, 17899 fonde *þi seoluen*), as indir. obj. in Ancren R. (once, 304, 10 ȝif þu witest eni þing þine sunne bute *þi suluen*) and as obj. of prep. in Ancren R. (once, 296, 18 Understond þis bi *þi suluen*). No corresponding plur. forms occur.

V. Reciprocal Reflexive.—In one instance cited above the reflexive obj. of a preposition is a reciprocal as well (Horn MS. C 364 Wiþ him ȝe wolden pleie Bitwex *ȝou selue* tweie).

An examination of the constructions of the various intens-reflex. forms, as given above, fails to produce any rules regarding the use of the forms with *self, selue* and *seluen* in the three grades of inflection. They occur early and late in the period, with sing. and plur. meaning according to the number of the pronoun which forms the first part of the construction, and in almost any pronominal construction.

Perhaps the most notable tendency in the use of this gradually evolving intensive-reflexive pronoun is to use it less often instead of a simple pronominal subject and more frequently as an appositive to it or as a reflexive in objective constructions.

VI. NOMINATIVE DUAL.

The nom. dual is found, for the most part, in the same constructions as the nom. sing. or plur. It is used as subject before a declar. verb 34x,

namely, in Lamb. Hom. (once, 93, 5), Orm. (16x e. g. 4498; 6210 ȝiff þatt *ȝitt* endenn; 12362, etc.), V. & V. (3x) and Laȝ. A (12x e. g. 5093 *ȝitt* buð mine leoue sunen; 9498; 17061, etc.). Transposition occurs in Orm. (2x viz. 6224; 13043). The nom. dual follows a declar. verb in Orm. (once, 6208 þa follȝhe *ȝitt* tatt narrwe stih), V. & V. (once, 97, 31) and Laȝ. A (once, 5019 ne beon *ȝit* bute tweien); it also follows an interrog. verb in Orm. (3x viz. 12732 Whatt seke *ȝitt*; 12966; 12968). Twice the nom. dual is accompanied by *baþe* in Orm. (6202; 6206).

VII. GENITIVE-POSSESSIVE DUAL.

1. The only gen-poss. dual form found inflected with *-e* modifies a sing. noun used as subjective complement in Laȝ. A (5623 ich *inckere* freond wurðe).

2. The uninflected forms modify sing. or plur. nouns used as dir. obj. in Orm. (6x e. g. 4497 annd cwellenn *ȝunnkerr* sawless; 6204; 6244, etc.), Laȝ. A (once, 26541 haldeð þer *unker* rune) and Gen. & Ex. (once, 398), as sing. or plur. obj. of prep. in Orm. (4x e. g. 6205; 13019 inn *ȝunnkerr* herrte; 13045, etc.) and Hali M. (once, 3, 22 Hu muche god mihte of *inker* streon waxen) and as sing. subject in Laȝ. A (once, 5102 *incker* moder inc hateþ).

3. The uninflected forms of the gen-poss. dual are used as gen. of limitation in Orm. (once, 6183 to *ȝunnkerr baþre* gode), as objective or possessive gen. in V. & V. (once, 97, 30 þat godd, *ȝinker* sceppend, mihte . . .) and as partitive gen. in V. & V. (2x viz. 95, 13 and hwaðer *ȝunker* hes tobrecð; 97, 26 ðat *ȝunker* noðer ne scal habben . . .), S. Warde (once, 265, 32 Eiðer of ow haueð his stunde to speokene . ne nis *incker* noðres tale to schunien in his time), Hali M. (once, 31, 18 swa þat *inker* eiðer heasci wið oðer), Laȝ. A (once, 32170) and Hav. (once, 1882 Gripeth eyþer *unker* a god tre).

Once the gen-poss. dual is reinforced with *baþre* in Orm. (6183, quoted above).

VIII. DATIVE-ACCUSATIVE DUAL.

The constructions of the dat-acc. dual correspond in general to those of the dat-acc. plural.

1. The most common construction, as dir. obj., occurs in Orm. (9x e. g. 6209; 6216; 13014, etc.) and Laȝ. A (4x viz. 5102; 5616; 5621 ich wulle . . . makien *inc* riche; 5619). Also as reflexive dir. obj. the dual dat-acc. is used in Orm. (2x viz. 4493; 6206).

2. A dual indir. obj. occurs in Lamb. Hom. (once, 93, 5), Orm. (3x

viz. 13012; 13020; 13026), V. & V. (once, 97, 13 þat ic mote fulȝin and buhsum bien *ȝing* bam), Laȝ. A (5x e. g. 5636 and þis [ich] *inc* bi-seche; 18105; 26542, etc.), Gen. & Ex. (once, 2830 and ic sal red *Gunc* boðen bringen read and sped) and O. & N. (once, 1733). Once also a reflexive indir. obj. occurs in Orm. (8663 makenn *ȝunnc* to fode).

3. As obj. of prep. the dual is used in Orm. (2x viz. 6228 bitwenenn *ȝunnc* and hemm; 6247), V. & V. (once, 97, 30 ðat ðis hali temple [be] arard on *ȝinc*), Marh. (once, 21, 33 bi his nome . . . þat glit of *inc* baðen) and Jul. (once, 18, 14). Also a reflexive obj. of prep. is used in Orm. (2x viz. 6157 Swa biddesst forr *ȝunnc* baþe; 6207).

4. In one instance the dat-acc. dual is a reflexive subject of the infinitive in Orm. (5148 tu dosst *ȝunnc* baþe . . . to gilltenn).

5. Once the object of a preposition is also reciprocal in V. & V. (97, 26 ȝit winneð *ȝung* bitwen).

The dat-acc. dual is accompanied by *baþe* in Orm. (5x viz. 4495; 5148; 6157; 4493; 6247), by *baþen* in Marh. (once, 21, 33 quoted above), by *boðen* in Gen. & Ex. (once, 2830 quoted) and by *bam* in V. & V. (once, 97, 13 quoted).

IX. INTENSIVE-REFLEXIVE DUAL.

The one form found in literature of this period is used as dir. obj. in Laȝ. A (695).

SECTION IV. SEMASIOLOGY.

Most, if not all, of the semasiological problems that arise in connection with the thirteenth-century pronoun of address centre about the general question of mixed usage. As we shall see, later, passages in which a plural pronoun is consistently used in addressing an individual are rare, but passages in which the speaker uses both sing. and plur. forms variably are common and sometimes quite perplexing. Hence these passages showing mixed usage will form the greater part of the subject matter of this section.

I. PRONOUN OF CONFESSIONAL AND PULPIT.

To anyone reading the literature of the period under consideration it must soon become apparent that the writers of the thirteenth century, most of whom seem to have been by nature or profession preachers, had two quite distinct attitudes toward their readers or hearers. The one attitude was decidedly informal and is best displayed in the homiletic passages where the preacher warns or exhorts the individual, using an informal singular which might be termed the homiletic or confessional singular because it occurs so often in passages where the poet treats the hearer or reader as a penitent come to confessional. The other attitude was more general, more formal, and appears most often in the narrative passages where the preacher or writer speaks either with a consciousness that he is in the pulpit or else with an ambition, seemingly, to imitate the minstrel in the hall or castle. The pronoun of the confessional prevails, to the exclusion of the other, in B. Rule, V. & V., where the writer represents himself as Reason preaching to the soul, Hali M., Laȝ. A (e. g. 9382; 9976; 14824; 19931, etc.), Gen. & Ex. (e. g. 45; 1260, etc.) and Dream-Book,[94] and to a less marked degree in Orm. (524x to 28,[95]), Lamb. Hom. (143x to 104), Ancren R., R. Poems of C & J, Digby 86, Curs. M., etc. On the other hand the plural of the pulpit prevails exclusively in Fl. & Bl., H. H., Nor. Leg. I, Horn, Hav., R. Glouc., Jos. and Marina, and is generally used in Nor. Leg. II, So. Leg. and Harl. 2253

[94] The form *ȝe* in l. 73 is probably either a mistake or to be understood as an adverb.

[95] Only the nom. forms are included; out of 709 nom. forms, these 552 are used in addressing the reader or readers.

(e. g. P 1, 1; 6, 152; W 5, 60, etc.). The attitude of the minstrel is very plain in most of the last named group (cf. Hav. 1 Herkneth to me, gode men). In some of these pieces the poet was probably a minstrel, but it is hardly necessary to emphasize the fact that in at least 75% of the monuments studied, which comprise much more than that percentage of literature, the poet was unquestionably in religious life as monk or priest.

If these facts, namely, that most of the writers were probably also given to preaching and that a preacher might speak sometimes as one at confessional and at other times with the formality of the pulpit, be borne in mind, the intermingling of sing. and plur. forms in the monuments above named is not as a rule very perplexing.

In the Ancren R., since the entire discussion is presumably addressed to the three sisters in common, one would expect always a plur. pronoun. At the beginning of the piece in general and of every new division in particular the plur. is used (cf. 4, 14; 12, 26; 16, 9; 50, 1, etc.). But when the writer becomes intent upon his admonition he lapses into the use of the sing. pronoun, a usage apparently associated with a more intimate or personal feeling on the part of the preacher (cf. 58, 21; 98, 29, etc.). Indeed in almost every instance where a discussion begins with the plur. the lapse to the sing. follows, and sometimes in very short space (cf. 102, 26 and 30; 118, 1 and 26; 256, 2 and 3; 274, 16 and 21, etc.). Often the lapse seems to be the result of the use of a quotation in which a sing. form occurs (cf. 346, 12, 19 and 23 where the priest's words to the penitent are quoted). Frequently, also, the lapse is from plur. second person to sing. fem. third, then to sing. second (cf. 286, 26, 28 and 290, 1). In such cases the nun, a third person, is held up to the sisters as an example or warning, and then a moment later her identity is merged with that of one of the sisters and she is herself admonished. Toward the end the writer himself seems to become slightly bewildered for he says, in speaking of atonement for sins, "And þeonne sum lutel hwat he mei leggen on *þe* oðer on *ou*" (p. 346, ll. 22-23). Evidently he was conscious of his illogical use of the sing. pronoun in writing for the sisters.

The earlier and later parts of Curs. M., differing as they do in the character of the matter treated, illustrate in an interesting way the pronoun of the pulpit and that of the confessional. In the earlier parts of the poems where narration predominates the plural prevails and the poet uses often the expressions common in the later metrical romances (e. g. 9375 For yee haf, lauerdinges, wel herd; 13214; 13360, etc.); in the latter part where homiletic discourse prevails, the sing. pronoun is more common.

II. AMBIGUOUS USAGE.

When the change in the number of the pronoun occurs in a single passage instead of in different parts of the poem the exact signification of the pronoun is sometimes hard to determine. In a number of passages occurring in thirteenth-century literature the plur. forms in such ambiguous passages appear to be early examples of the *pluralis reverentiae* or as we shall style it for early English, the *formal singular*. When taken, however, in the setting of the context such plurals often prove to be plural in meaning as well as in form.

1. One class of these ambiguous pronouns results from an abrupt shifting on the part of the preacher from the sing. of the confessional to the plur. of the pulpit or vice versa. Cf. Orm. (1166-71 All hu *ȝe* muȝhenn lakenn Godd gastlike i gode þæwess Wiþþ all þatt Judewisshe lac þatt *ȝuw* her uppe iss shæwedd; 3iff þatt *tu* follȝhesst soþ meoclejjc annd soþ unnskaþiȝnesse; 3222-24; 4384-89; 6096-6102; 6723-24 Swa summ *ȝe* littlær herrdenn . annd *tu* mihht lakenn Jesu Crist . . . ; 18801-07, etc.).

2. In a number of the earlier, but especially in the later monuments, the real number of a plural form is at times doubtful because a situation occurs similar to that which, as Ehrismann[96] and others have shown, makes it difficult to establish for early Latin the real beginnings of the use of the *pluralis reverentiae*. That is to say, an individual is addressed as representative of political power or religious belief shared by others.

Once in V. & V. Body addresses Reason with a plur. (97, 1 þeih *ȝie* be gode rihte unwurð helden of me). Probably, however, the Soul is also included along with Reason.

In the midst of one of Katherine's speeches to the Emperor (Kath. 207-305) she uses plur. forms several times (275-6; 278; 301). She probably wishes to include along with the Emperor all heathen of his faith. So also in the Emperor's reply to Katherine (313-352) plur. forms occur (321; 344; 346-7). But since he uses an informal sing. in the remarks of a more personal nature (312 ff.) he doubtless thinks of Katherine as a representative of her sect when he addresses her with the plur. pronoun. Moreover the Latin version shows a similar shift of number so that even tho this were an actual occurrence of the formal singular it would not have much significance for Middle English usage.

In Laȝ., in a few instances, an interchange of sing. and plur. forms

[96] Ehrismann, Dutzen und Ihrzen im Mittelalter.

occurs in a single passage where traces of formal address might be suspected; but in each instance the pronoun can also be assumed to include more than the one addressed. Brutus says to his prisoner Anacletus (vv. 700-703), "Do swa . . . & *þe* scal beon þe bet . *ȝe* scullen habben lif & leomen: & beon mine leofe freond." Just before this he has used a dual form (v. 695), so he evidently includes Anacletus's lord who is also a prisoner. It is clear that the scribe of B took this to be plur. for he changes v. 701 to read: and þe bet *ȝou* sel worþe.

In La*ȝ*. 10968-72 where the British king says to the Roman leader, "he hæfde . . . muchel of *þine* cunne of-sla*ȝ*en & mid strengðe *eow* at-halden wolde þat gauel of þissen londe & muchele scome he *eow* dude," he probably uses the plur. forms to include the Romans generally.

Likewise vv. 13887-93 show an interchange of sing. and plur. forms which can be explained in the same way. When Vortiger says to Hengist (v. 13887), "Ich ileue *þe* cniht," he refers to Hengist's personal narration, but when he says (vv. 13889-90), "& wulche beoð *œoure* i-leuen: þat *ȝe* on ileueð," he undoubtedly refers to the Saxons of whom Hengist is the official representative.

In Gen. & Ex. a plur. form is used several times in addresses to individuals where the context implies that others are included. The tempter addresses Eve but includes Adam (324 ff.), Pharaoh addresses Moses as representative of the Hebrews (3055 ff.) and God likewise speaks to him (3237 ff.).

In Nor. Leg. II persons of official standing are addressed with plur. pronominal forms four different times where this uncertainty exists as to whether the individual is meant or the official group of whom he is chief. (1) The Jews address Constantine (14, 69 ff.). (2) Simon Magus, who usually addresses the emperor informally, shifts once to the plur. form (16, 475). One can easily assume that he refers to more than the emperor. (3) James addresses Hermogines, once a persecutor, now a convert, with the informal or common sing. except in one line (19, 323), where it is probable that others are included. (4) St. Laurence addresses Valerian with *ȝow* once (22, 111) but may include the emperor whom Valerian represents.

In So. Leg. similar passages occur which can be similarly explained. (1) Katherine, again, uses plur. forms in speaking to the emperor (25, 39-48) and the emperor generalizes in his rather sarcastic reply (25, 51-2 And we schulle betere i-leue alle men: and more it wole beo note, þane ani fol womman ase *þou* art—: for *ouwer* bolt is sone i-schote). (2) Becket addresses Sir Reynaud who is accompanied by other knights, with

plur. pronouns (27, 1993-2000). (3) Likewise the voice of God comes to a bishop who, with other folk, has been looking about for a new bishop of Mirre (37, 75-78). (4) St. John says to a knight of England (60, 510), "Wiend . . . ȝwane þou hom comest: to Edward, *eower* king). (5) Bartholomew addresses the king likewise (55, 117-122), etc., etc.

Frequently, in Curs. M., a speaker addresses an individual, then suddenly seems to include others. Sometimes this change is anticipated by the requirements of the situation, at other times it might be regarded as a shift to formal address but probably is not. Cf. the speech of God to Abram (2360 ff.), of the Lord to Sarah (2726-30), of Jacob to Joseph and, probably, Joseph's sons (5453 ff.), of the angel to Joachim (10355-363 'Maria' sal þou do hir call . . . And sco sal bere *your* saueour), of Architriclin to the butler (13408-415), etc. In none of these is the relation of the speaker to the one addressed such as to call for formal address.

When Androgeus, in R. Glouc. (v. 1341), uses one *ye* among many sing. forms in addressing the Roman emperor it is likely that he includes with the emperor his people whom he represents. The same applies to the speech of the child Merlin to the king (2757 Sire king wi lete *ȝe* mi moder . & me biuore *þe* lede?).

3. A third cause of this shifting without very clear reason from sing. to plur., or vice versa, lies in the habit of some writers of using certain more or less stereotyped phrases. This is especially the case in Orm. (cf. 234 and 245 þat witt *tu* wel to soþe . . . Her habbe icc shæwedd *ȝuw* summ del; 1124-30; 4980-82; 5620-24; 8714-20, etc.).

4. Finally, some of these ambiguous plurals can be traced back to Latin literature which the M. E. writer has paraphrased or translated. One example occurs in B. Rule (5, 14-19 God almichtin þus to *þe* cwyð: "Gyf *þu* abben wylle soð lif and ece, *heald þine* tunge fram yfelre spece and *þine* lippe noþing focenlices ne specen; *abuh* fram ywele and *do* god; *sech* sibbe and *folge* hyre . þo *ye* þus doð, mine eagen buð ofer *eow* and mine eare æt *eower* gebedu and ær *ge* me to clupian, i cweðe: Efne nu ic eom gearue to *eower* nude"). The Latin version printed parallel to this in Schröer's edition shows exactly the same shifting in the number of the pronoun; moreover the Scriptural passage (Ps. 33: 13ff.) of which this is a free translation shows the same change from sing. to plur. but with a change of person as well. Evidently, then, the B. Rule cannot be credited with a first occurrence of the *formal singular,* but this must be considered merely one of those numerous instances where the writer ad-

dresses one, then more than one, shifting from the more intimate, personal style to the more general address.

Once, in Trin. Hom. (137, 18 ff.) a shifting occurs, resulting from the fact that the writer translates literally an apostolic admonition addressed to several, and then he himself enlarges upon it using a sing, form of the pronoun of address.

In V. & V. Reason in addressing the Soul shifts from the usual sing. temporarily to the plur., apparently thru the influence of a Latin quotation (89, 30 ff. Nolite fieri, et cetera, 'Ne bieð ȝelich ðe horse ne ðe mule, ðe ne habbeð non andȝet!' Ac *nemeð* ȝieme ouer alle þing te *ȝeure* herte . . . 33ff. All ðare hwile ðe *ðu* art on ðese earme liue, *ðu* art on muchele ifihte).

From the above examples of more or less ambiguous usage an idea can be gained of the difficulty to be experienced in attempting to fix exactly the time when the formal singular came into use.

III. THE FORMAL SINGULAR.

After all these cases of uncertain meaning have been explained there is left still a small residuum of occurrences in which the pronoun really illustrates the use of a formal singular in the thirteenth century. The first occurrences are probably those in Gen. and Ex., approximately 1250 A. D., and the climax is reached for the century in So. Leg. and Curs. M. In other words an East Midland monument furnishes the first timid examples of it, while the two monuments that display the freest use of it for the century represent the Northern and Southern dialects respectively. But these facts must not be taken as conclusive evidence that the use of the formal sing. began in East Midland English nor that it spread most rapidly in the far North or the southern part represented by MS. Laud 108, for the literature to which we have access is by no means uniformly representative of all sections or dialects. Moreover some of the examples which will be cited later must not be taken very seriously for they are almost isolated occurrences in some cases.

1. Political or social inferiors to superiors.

a. As would be expected the most common, tho not the earliest, occurrences of formal pronouns of address are in speeches to kings and other rulers. In Nor. Leg. I Peter addresses Nero once with a formal sing. (1, 299) altho he later lapses into the use of the common sing. In Nor. Leg. II Abbanes, the steward, in reporting to his master, the king of India, uses the formal sing. (4, 110-112), and again a servant ad-

dresses the emperor formally once (34, 513). In So. Leg. Thomas Becket in addressing the king shifts once from the common to the formal sing. (27, 462). Everywhere else, however, he uses the common sing. in speaking to the king. The speech of the courtiers to the king in the same legend (27, 979-988) starts with *ȝe* but at once lapses to the common sing. When the bishops address the king they use both the common and the formal sing. (27, 1003-11 Sire heo seiden, *ȝe* beoth a-nuyd: and þat us for-þinchez sore; For-ȝif us þat *ȝe* on us berez: We nellez *þe* mis-don non more . . . Fur-ȝif us *þine* wrathþe, we biddez *þe*: ant to rome we wollez wende to binimen him is Erchebischopriche: and ase a wrechche him schende: Puyrliche forsuore we schullen him preoui: sire king, bi *eovwer* rede). In the speech of Sebastian to the emperor (28, 59 ff.) a shift occurs from sing. to plur. forms similar to that in the speech of Katherine to the emperor,[97] but the remarks of Sebastian are too personal to permit of the pronoun's being understood as plural. In Hav. the people show their respect for Queen Goldeborw by using the formal sing. (2797-2807). In Curs. M. Joseph, in addressing the king, starts formally but lapses immediately into the use of the common sing. (4557 ff.). So also the king's counsellors use both the common and the formal sing. in speaking to him (5503-5510). Two midwives address the same king likewise (5556-5562). Farther on in the poem David is addressed both informally and formally by a squire (7719-22), by the people (7788) and by the four Saracens (8094-8115). A woman addresses King Solomon with both forms (8659-8678) and the Jews, finally, use the formal sing. in speaking to Pilate. In R. Glouc. a maiden uses a formal sing. in addressing King Henry (8884 Sire heo sede wel ichot . þat *ȝoure* herte vpe me is).

b. Only rarely do servants address their masters with the formal sing. One or two passages have been cited where the master was also the king or emperor. In Nor. Leg. I Eufemian is addressed by his knave with a formal sing. (2, 487 ff.). In So. Leg. a servant addresses Gilbert Becket formally (27, 77). In Curs. M. a servant addresses Abraham formally (3237-3239) and the same servant is addressed by Rebecca, who does not know him, with both the formal and the informal sing. (3315-18). A messenger addresses Jacob formally at first but when the old gentleman begins to call bad names, all formality ceases (5141-5152).

c. Various persons of lower rank recognize the higher rank of the person addressed by using an occasional formal sing. Jacob's sons, in Gen. & Ex., ignorant of the real identity of Joseph, address him formally

[97] See page 83.

when they meet him in Egypt (2259-63 Louerd he seiden ðo euerilc on, *Gur* siluer is *gu* brogt a-gon, It was in ure seckes don [98]). In So. Leg. the bridegroom at the wedding feast at Cana uses the formal sing. in speaking to Architriclin [99] (9, 1768). A Jew, detected by a Christian man in evil-doing, addresses his accuser with a conciliatory formal sing. (10, 535 ff.). Havelok, while a beggar, addresses the cook with formal sing. (909-920). Bernard is addressed by one of the thieves with *ye* and *-tu* both (1786-89). In Curs. M. the people speak with formal sing. to Potiphar's wife (4395 Lauedi, þai said, wat aleis *yow?*).

2. To religious superiors, saints, etc.

The aged bishop Martin is addressed by his devoted people, in Nor. Leg. II, with what may be very fitly termed the *pluralis reverentiae* (31, 193-196). In So. Leg. when the delegation of bishops address the pope (27, 1263-1334) they mix common and formal sing. pronouns, but when Becket pleads with the pope he keeps to the formal sing. quite consistently (27, 1373-1410). Becket is himself addressed by his clerk, Master Bernard, with a mixture of common and formal singulars (27, 1685-88). When the abbot Beryn says in the course of his narration to St. Brendan (36, 25), "ase ich it telle *ov*" it is necessary to understand *ov* as singular; and yet this probably deserves less emphasis than some other occurrences because the phrase is a stereotyped one, used by the poet to his readers often and slipped in here perhaps almost unconsciously because the abbot becomes temporarily the story teller. Once also in So. Leg. an old man addresses St. Peter formally (47, 239-44). In Curs. M. Jesse uses a formal sing. in addressing the prophet Samuel (7385-6), Jesus is also addressed formally by Martha (14098-14103), partly so by the Jews (14622-27) and once by his disciples (15181-184). Nicodemus is addressed by the Jews with both forms (14860-65).

3. Children to parents or elders.

In Gen. & Ex. Jacob's sons use the formal sing. once in speaking to him (2238-40 Jacob eft bit hem faren agon, Oc he ne duren ðe weie cumen in, "but *ge* wið us senden beniamin"). In Nor. Leg. II when the child Nicholas answers the bishop he says (1, 60-61), "Mi name es Nicho-

[98] Even here it is possible to assume that the plur. form is used to include with Joseph the Egyptian king whose official he is; but from the general context it seems probable that only Joseph is meant.

[99] Architriclin is here a proper name as quite often is the case in mediaeval literature. Cf. O. F. Barbazan et Meon II, 419, Kent. Serm. 29, 25; Nor. Leg. II, 17; 15-16; So. Leg. 9; 1715 . 1752, etc.

las . . . *3owre* seruand). St. Lucy at first uses the formal sing. in speaking to her mother (3, 19 ff.) but later, as she advises her mother regarding the recovery of her health, she adopts the sing. form of the pronoun. Even Constantine uses the formal sing. in addressing his mother, Queen Elyne (14, 124-148). Havelok as a child, begging Godard to spare his life, uses both formal and common sing. pronouns in a single speech (482-495 [100]). In Curs. M. several passages show the use of the formal sing. on the part of children toward their parents. The sons address Jacob in part formally (5175-5186), Joseph likewise addresses Jacob (5266-72), the daughter speaks with a formal sing. to Herodias (13154-5), daughters address their father formally (5697-5702), indeed even Christ in speaking to Mary uses in part the formal sing. (20601-4).

4. Wife to husband.

In Nor. Leg. I the wife of Alexius addresses him with the formal sing. in the one passage where she addresses him (2, 109 ff.). In Nor. Leg. II the wife addresses her husband, the prince, formally, at first (17, 235-252) but after they become Christians she uses the common sing. (17, 330 ff.). So also Cecelia addresses her newly-wedded husband formally at first (33, 59-74), but later shifts to the use of the common sing.

5. Suitor to lady, etc.

In the *Luue Ron* of R. Poems of J the poet himself uses a formal sing. once in addressing the maid for whom the poem is supposed to be written (10, 113 and 118. Hwat spekestu of eny bolde . . . more þan ich *eu* telle can [101]). In Nor. Leg. II when the devil, disguised as a fair lady, endeavors to tempt the good bishop he, or rather she, uses the formal sing. quite freely (1, 329 ff.), lapsing into the common sing. only as they become more intimate (1, 391). The bishop, on the other hand, uses the common sing. at first (1, 384) and adopts the formal sing. only as he becomes more deeply infatuated (1, 432). In Harl. 2253 it is the maid who uses the formal sing. in addressing her suitor (W 6, 13-20).

6. Persons of nearly equal rank.

In the fragment of Havelok's speech to Ubbe both plur. and sing. forms occur (1625-1631). In Curs. M. Joseph's brothers address him with the formal sing. perhaps because they are awed by his exalted sta-

[100] Holthausen substitutes *you* for *þe* in l. 1626 (*Furnwall Miscellany*, p. 179).

[101] Since the poet really does shift to a plural once earlier in the poem (v. 39) one might assume the same kind of change even here, but the context argues against it.

tion at the same time that they are feeling conscious of guilty acts toward him in the past (5103-5116). In R. Glouc. King Howell addresses King Arthur with both formal and common sing. pronouns (4061-2 Betere ansuere we ne ssolde vinde . þen *ȝe* abbeþ nou ysed . þeruore we aȝte onoury wel . of so noble wit *þi* red). Corineus says to Locrine (578-80), "*Hastow* vor-ȝute þe grete wo . & moni harde wounde þat ich abbe iþoled for þi fader . & þe mani harde stounde . Vor to winne him lond & *ȝow*."

7. To God.

Havelok, praying to God, uses a formal sing. once (1361); the rest of the prayer uses only the common sing. pronoun (v. 1384, etc.). Also in Curs. M. Samuel, praying to God, uses a formal sing. (7362 þat childs nam *yee* will me scau).

8. Apostrophe.

In Harl. 2253 the poet uses one formal sing. pronoun intermingled with common singulars in addressing France (P 5, 121-2 Alas, *þou* seli fraunce! for *þe* may þunche shome þat ane fewe ffullaris makeþ *ou* so tome). In much the same way he addresses Jerusalem also (P 8, 65-70 Jerusalem, *þou* hast ilore þe flour of al chiualerie . . . he wolde ha rered vp ful heyȝe *oure* baners). Cf. O. F. version of the last passage, "*tu* as perdu La flour de *ta* chivalerie . . . jeo ne sai mie *Toun* baner qi le meintindra [102]).

9. To the reader.

Once in Kil. Poems the poet addresses the reader with a plur. form of the pronoun which in its context must be taken as a formal sing. (5, 189-192 Ich red, vp no man *þou* hab triste No vppon non oþer, Ok del hit wiþ *ȝure* owen fist, Trist to soster no broþer).

IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

The formal sing. is used, as a summary of the above examples shows, in only ten monuments and collections of the period, namely, Gen. & Ex., R. Poems of J, Nor. Leg. I and II, So. Leg., Havelok, Curs. M., R. Glouc., Kil. Poems and Harl. 2253. These represent all the chief dialects except the Kentish.

In very few instances, however, is formal address consistently maintained, but either the writer soon lapses into the use of the common sing. or else the formal sing. represents merely an isolated occurrence. The few examples of unmixed formal usage are in short passages where there

[102] Böddeker, Altenglische Dichtungen, p. 454.

is little opportunity to judge how strongly the writer felt the need of making his characters speak formally. It is hardly necessary to suggest that the examples classed under the last three rubrics above can not be deemed evidence of much value.

On the whole, the use of the formal singular in English literature of the second half of the thirteenth century is sporadic and seems rather the occasional reflection of a practice familiar in some other tongue or at least in some other class of society than that represented by most of the English literature of the century. Probably both the foreign tongue and the other class of society are reflected altho there is little real evidence to prove either, and the question of the cause or causes of the introduction of the formal singular into English can be answered at best with conjectures only.

We know that a formal pronoun of address was very common in Old French literature as far back as the time of the writing of the version of the Roland now extant and if the O. F. romances of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are at all faithful in their portrayal of social intercourse, the formal singular was quite generally used. We also know that the English monasteries were full of French monks for some time after the Conquest and there was a constant intercourse between English and continental religious institutions. The criteria of French scribal participation in the copying of English literature, as worked out by Prof. Skeat,[103] are to be found in various monuments of the period, and it is surely unnecessary to speak in detail of the numerous French pieces translated or paraphrased into Middle English. It cannot be questioned that the writers of much of our thirteenth century literature knew well the use of the formal pronoun in French.

It would be scarcely credible that the usage was transplanted from the one literature to the other by the writers and then adopted into every-day intercourse by people outside the seats of learning. Rather it would seem probable that it was first an imitation at court of Anglo-Norman and Anglo-French usage which gradually appeared in the more serious literature of the times. If there were in English the same amount of courtly literature that twelfth-century French can boast, it might be possible to push back the beginnings of the practice of formal address much farther than 1250 A. D. As it is, it is only possible to conjecture that the English court which was so strongly French in the days of Marie de France knew the new formal address and practiced it, but that being a

[103] Skeat, The Lay of Havelok the Dane, Clarendon Press, 1902, pp. x-xiii.

courtly usage at first, it smacked too strongly of worldliness to be allowed to slip into the homiletic and religious-historical works of this early time.

The same argument which speaks for a French influence in introducing the formal singular into English usage opposes the idea that it could have come exclusively out of Latin usage. For Latin was not a popular tongue however widely it may have been used by scholars and it was not a living, growing language as the French was, hence could hardly have exerted the influence in this matter that the French could.

But as has already been said, it is only possible to conjecture as to the exact status of the practice in English about the year 1250 A. D. when it begins to show in English literature. No doubt a search of Latin literature of early England will throw more light on the question, but that is not in the purpose of the present study and so we can be content if the facts relating to the practice as it appears in English literature of the thirteenth century have been presented with reasonable accuracy and completeness.

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